

W.F.P.BURTON (1886-1971)  
AND CONGOLESE  
AGENCY: A  
BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY  
OF A PENTECOSTAL  
MISSION

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis contributes originally to pentecostal historiography through bringing a pre-eminent figure in early British Pentecostalism into the limelight showing how Pentecostalism in Belgian Congo was pioneered by him alongside local agency. Together they furthered its development in the southeastern Katanga and Kasai provinces. Central to W.F.P. Burton's contradictory and complex personality was a passionate desire to see the emancipation of humankind from the spiritual powers of darkness believing only Spirit-empowered local agency would enduringly prove effective.

This thesis unevenly portrays Burton's Congolese years by parsing biographical landmarks alongside his persistent attempts to co-labour with local agency. Burton's ambitions might have been circumscribed by his birth into a notable family. Burton though, lived with a faith which believed for Spirit intervention in church communities converting lives, bringing physical healing and transforming regions. In the maelstrom following Congolese Independence, Burton's belief in his own brand of indigenisation made him an outlier even among Pentecostals. This thesis argues such pentecostal faith engendered an idealism which frustratingly conflicted with those not sharing it in the way he understood and pursued it. It thus serves Pentecostals (holding a similar faith) and historians by clarifying his ideals and revealing the reasons for his frustrations.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to:

Two people who showed me how to love God and others:

**John and Ruth Emmett**

And to the best gift God has given me:

**Philippa**

And to our three comedians who constantly make us smile:

**Jon, Jess and Ben**

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Ngoy Shalumbo was someone I knew throughout the eighties as my local pastor at Kipushya. I am grateful to him for making the ninety-mile journey from Kipushya to Kabinda on a bicycle just to see me in 2011. He told me all that his father, Shalumbo, had ever told him. He died in June 2016 and will forever be remembered for his patient listening ear by the people of Kipushya.

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Ngoy Mbesengye died in 2015, no one knew his age. As far as I know he remained cynical towards the gospel throughout his life. He was an enormous help with information about Shalumbo and the early missionaries to Kipushya. He did not hold back from lucidly telling what he knew and thought.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AG	Assemblies of God United States of America
AIM	Africa Inland Mission
AOG	Assemblies of God of Great Britain
OMC	Overseas Missionary Council of Assemblies of God of Great Britain
AZEM	Archives of the Zaire Evangelistic Mission Kamina
CAM	Central African Missions
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Christian Evangel</i>
CEM	Congo Evangelistic Mission
HRC	Home Reference Council of the CEM
<i>CEMR</i>	<i>Congo Evangelistic Mission Report</i>
<i>CEMROTW</i>	<i>Congo Evangelistic Mission Report of the Work</i>
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CoIM	Congo Inland Mission
<i>Conf</i>	<i>Confidence</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Elim Evangel</i>
EPCO	Eglise Pentecôtiste au Congo
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
<i>FF</i>	<i>Flames of Fire</i>
HRC	Home Reference Council of CEM
<i>JEPTA</i>	<i>Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association</i>
<i>JPT</i>	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Religion in Africa</i>

<i>LRE</i>	<i>The Latter Rain Evangel</i>
MC	Missionary Council
MPMU	Minutes of the Pentecostal Missionary Union
OMC	Overseas Missions Council
<i>Pent</i>	<i>The Pentecost</i>
<i>PE</i>	<i>The Pentecostal Evangel</i>
PM	The Pentecostal Mission
PMU	The Pentecostal Missionary Union
<i>RFWFPB</i>	<i>Report from Brother W.F.P.Burton</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Redemption Tidings</i>
<i>WE</i>	<i>The Weekly Evangel</i>
WEC	Worldwide Evangelisation Crusade
<i>WW</i>	<i>Word and Witness</i>

## **GLOSSARY**

### **Names of cities, regions or countries where the current name is different to the one used in the text**

Belgian Congo	Democratic Republic of Congo
German East Africa	Burundi, Rwanda and mainland Tanzania
Elisabethville	Lubumbashi
Jadotville	Likasi
Kasai	Kasai Oriental or Lomami (since 2015)
Leopoldville	Kinshasa
Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Salisbury	Harare
Stanleyville	Kisangani
Zaire	Democratic Republic of Congo

Figure 1

Mr. William Frederick Padwick Burton and Mrs. Hettie Burton, c.1922

Photograph courtesy of Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM)<sup>1</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> I will refer to the Congo Evangelistic Mission as CEM throughout. This is what it was called throughout Burton's life. It was called the Zaire Evangelistic Mission from 1972 and Central African Missions from 1997, since 2013 it is has been called Central African Missions International.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 A Study Worth Doing

A biography of this protagonist of Pentecostalism is worth telling, *'not least because of the clear way it reveals the possibilities, the excitements, and also the puzzles and dangers that new movements of the Spirit bring.'*<sup>2</sup>

This comment on a biography of Alexander Boddy captures the idealism and frustration in the cocktail of emotion condensed into this study of William Frederick Padwick Burton's life. This narrative straddles the contours of two 'new movements of the Spirit', British Pentecostalism and Congolese<sup>3</sup> Pentecostalism. The latter was initiated at the time it was because of Burton's indefatigable efforts; he became a torchbearer, albeit a frustrated one, from within the former. Burton had a Stakhanovite appetite for language learning, evangelising, preaching and teaching; yet inculcating any Congolese with his pentecostal dogmata only came after living in frustration among them for over four years. Burton not only realised his dependence upon local agency, but also acknowledged its primacy in the spreading of his gospel and establishing of churches. Burton expressed admiration towards Congolese agency, yet sometimes it frustrated him. He was though forever keen to celebrate its success, always seeing local agency in his thinking as the putative heir to western missionaries. This thesis parses segments of Burton's life, giving reasons why Burton's ideal of indigenisation was frustrated during his lifetime. Idealistic possibilities and excitements abound in this narrative, but are counterpoised by frustrating puzzles and dangers.

#### 1.1 A Study Within a Broader Context

If in 1914 Christianity could be described as having a sense of portentousness,<sup>4</sup> how much more could that depict the particular 'form of Christianity in which believers receive the gifts

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<sup>2</sup> N.T.Wright, foreword in Gavin Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy: Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer* (London: Paternoster, 2007), ix. Emphasis mine.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this thesis I refer to the Belgian Congo or the Democratic Republic of Congo simply as Congo, or use the adjective Congolese. I do this even though the country was called the Republic of Zaire between 1971-1997. At no time do I write about the neighbouring (on the northwestern border) and geographically smaller Republic of Congo.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Stanley, 'The Outlook for Christianity in 1914,' in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, eds. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 593. 1910 had seen the World Missionary Conference take place in Edinburgh and 1914 was the year Burton sailed to Africa.



of the Holy Spirit and have ecstatic experiences such as speaking in tongues, healing, and prophesying' which, since 1914, has been acknowledged with its ability to spread as 'one of the great success stories of the current era of cultural globalization'.<sup>5</sup> If Christianity 'has been such a chameleon and so varied in its manifestation that *most people fail to begin to understand either its nature or its history*',<sup>6</sup> then how much more can the same be said specifically about Pentecostalism as 'a polynucleated and variegated phenomenon'.<sup>7</sup>

This study is an important contribution to a necessary, yet incremental piecing together of the jigsaw revealing how Pentecostalism has surged globally, spread across Africa and especially contributes missing pieces over Congo. Examining Burton's life textures the narrating of these portentous times from around 1914 onwards by deblurring their chameleonic variance. It undertakes this through adding knowledge to the historiography of a global missionary movement of the Spirit from Britain to Congo, and crucially within Congo (a country nearly one million square miles in size), about which very little pentecostal history has been written. It thus adds to the description of Pentecostalism, or indeed of pentecostalisms through contributing towards a corrective of unhelpful generalised studies on 'African Pentecostalism' that 'do not do justice to the complexities and vast differences we find in Africa'.<sup>8</sup> Although I refer to this as the Burton narrative, this chronicle gives 'due credit' to 'indigenous pioneers' because of Burton's prizing indigenisation.<sup>9</sup> The Burton story is a pentecostal story contributing knowledge to the global dimension and historiography of 'one of the most amazing stories in the history of Christianity'.<sup>10</sup>

By examining Burton's dependence on and support of local agency, this work addresses Ogbu Kalu's apprehension over African Pentecostal historiography, namely that 'Africans have lost their own story and absorbed another people's story'.<sup>11</sup> This study discredits any

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<sup>5</sup> Joel Robbins, 'The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity,' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (October 2004): 117.

<sup>6</sup> Adrian Hastings, *A World History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1. Emphasis mine.

<sup>7</sup> Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM, 2007), 4.

<sup>8</sup> Jörg Haustein, 'Charismatic Renewal, Denominational Tradition and the Transformation of Ethiopian Society' (paper presented at the International Consultation: Encounter Beyond Routine: Cultural roots, cultural transition, understanding of faith and cooperation in development, at the Academy of Mission, Hamburg 17-23/01/2011): 50.

<sup>9</sup> Cornelis van der Laan, 'Historical Approaches,' in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Michael Bergunder et al. (London: University of California Press, 2010), 217.

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 4. Anderson referring here to Pentecostalism.

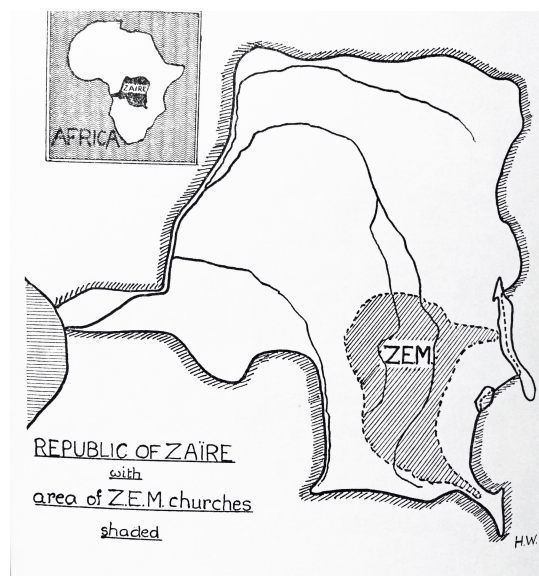
<sup>11</sup> Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4. For more on Kalu himself (including some of his main publications), described as a 'towering figure in the fields of Global Mission, African Christianity and Global Pentecostalism', see: Richard Burgess, 'A Tribute to Ogbu U. Kalu (1942-2009),' *PentecoStudies* 9:1 (2010): 7-8.

possible notions of Congolese Pentecostalism as being a ‘made-in-the-USA product’,<sup>12</sup> and, more pertinently, shows that it is neither an export from Preston in Lancashire in the UK. Others, to varying degrees, have in a similar vein contributed to restoring the story to local agency in other African contexts such as Zimbabwe,<sup>13</sup> Nigeria,<sup>14</sup> Ghana<sup>15</sup> and Ethiopia.<sup>16</sup> Such studies can be seen against the background of more generalised works on African Pentecostalism.<sup>17</sup>

Figure 2

Map showing the position of CEM churches within Congo at the time of Burton’s death<sup>18</sup>

Photograph courtesy of CEM



This study emphasises local agency, but other pentecostal and protestant missions need delineating simply to put the study in its context. Although Burton was the first missionary to bring pentecostal experience to the Congolese, other western pentecostal missions soon appeared after Burton’s arrival. North of the CEM area, Swedish pentecostals worked in

<sup>12</sup> See Anderson, *An Introduction*: 13-14.

<sup>13</sup> David Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of a Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement* (Oxford: Currey, 2006).

<sup>14</sup> Richard Burgess, *Nigeria’s Christian Revolution: The Civil War Revival and Its Pentecostal Progeny (1967-2006)* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> Kwabena J. Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘Renewal within African Christianity: A Study of Some Current Historical and Theological Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana’ (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Jörg Haustein, *Writing Religious History: The Historiography of Ethiopian Pentecostalism* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*; Martin Lindhardt, *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Anderson, *Spreading*, 149-190.

<sup>18</sup> Map taken from Harold Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton: Congo Pioneer* (Eastbourne: Victory Press, 1973).

Congo from the early 1920s eventually as *Mission Libre Suédoise*<sup>19</sup> and evidence can be found for their travelling together with CEM missionaries by 1930.<sup>20</sup> By the end of 1958 the Swedish Pentecostals were described as having seventeen mission stations in an area that covered part of the eastern Congo from Uvira in the south up to Kisenji on the northern tip of lake Kivu.<sup>21</sup> These stations were often alongside works established by the Norwegian Free Churches who worked together with the Swedish mission in the Kivu.

Still on the eastern side of Congo, sandwiched between the Swedish and Norwegian Pentecostals (to their north) and the CEM (to their south) was what became known as the AOG Kalembe field.<sup>22</sup> Arthur Richardson and his wife arrived in 1920.<sup>23</sup> The Richardsons were joined in 1921 by other missionaries. Arthur Richardson died of blackwater fever at the start of 1925.<sup>24</sup> Douglas Scott, instrumental in the establishing of the French AOG,<sup>25</sup> also worked with AOG at Baraka from 1939-1945.<sup>26</sup> The AOG and Scandinavian missions could report of a 'closer working' together in 1953.<sup>27</sup>

The American Assemblies of God (AG) worked in Congo after taking responsibility for sending Joseph Blakeney who, as will be seen in chapter three, entered Congo with Burton and Salter in 1915. Blakeney left shortly after arriving at Mwanza but returned to Congo under the auspices of AG leading a party much further west to Gombari, near Isiro, north of

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<sup>19</sup> The word 'pentecostal' was taken out of their official name after receiving advice from a Lutheran archbishop that this would assist them in obtaining their *personnalité civile* (government status to be discussed below) with the Belgian administration. See: Gunilla Nyberg Oskarsson, 'Le Mouvement Pentecôtiste - une Communauté Alternative au Sud du Burundi 1935-1960' (PhD diss., University of Uppsala, 2004), 27.

<sup>20</sup> *CEMR* 31 (January-March 1931): 477.

<sup>21</sup> *CEMR* 266 (January 1959): 16. They had 'almost' one hundred missionaries, more than the CEM ever had at one time. They also had a training school at Lemera which had twenty 'white' teachers. In addition they had a 'gospel ministry over the radio' at Bukavu. Swedish Pentecostals working as missionaries numbered over 500 in 1963; see: *Pentecost*: 71 (March-May 1965): 9.

<sup>22</sup> Sometimes referred to as the Kalembelembe field.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Hawkins, 'A Brief History of Overseas Missions linked with the British Assemblies of God: Arranged by Walter Hawkins at the Request of the OMC', unpublished paper, September 1985, 3. Walter Hawkins archives. Garrard also puts the date as 1920 in D.J. Garrard, 'Congo, Democratic Republic of' in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Mass (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 70. Boddy had written about the Richardsons learning Swahili prior to this, see: *Conf* 13:3 (July-September 1920): 47. The Kalembe missionaries all learned Swahili rather than more localised languages. Strictly speaking, they were PMU missionaries as in 1920 AOG had not yet been formed.

<sup>24</sup> *RT* 34:1 (03/01/1958): 15. The history is also given here of Maggie Noad, who after having been trained at the PMU women's training home, travelled out in 1921 along with Mary Anderson to join the Richardsons.

<sup>25</sup> Raymond Pfister, 'The Development of Pentecostalism in Francophone Europe' in ed. William Kay and Anne Dyer, *European Pentecostalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 118.

<sup>26</sup> Hawkins, 'A Brief History', 2. See also, Alfred Missen, *The Sound Of a Going* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God, 1973), 63.

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the OMC-AOG, 11/09/1953, No.10.

Stanleyville.<sup>28</sup> Upon securing a piece of land to build a mission station, one AG missionary noted how the US missionaries' arrival was viewed as an intrusion by 'denominational missionaries' who were already 'occupying' the territory.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the Blakeney could write of over a hundred converts after three and a half years at Gombari.<sup>30</sup>

The aforementioned sense of being perceived as intruders by existing protestant missions was not an issue for Burton upon arriving at Mwanza in the Katanga province. Generally, the protestant missions in Katanga had good relationships with each other. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, there were borders set by the *Conseil Protestant du Congo*; these must have contributed to more secure working relationships with each other.<sup>31</sup> A photo of one of the Katanga sub-meetings of this council is published in *CEMR*.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, they had a perceived common enemy. All protestant missions in Congo faced fierce opposition from the Roman Catholic church; this issue was exacerbated as the Roman Catholics were very closely associated with the Belgian colonial government until the early 1950s.<sup>33</sup> Thirdly, the size of the country made missions overlapping competitively less likely. Burton's 1926 map of the CEM field gives an idea of the workload faced in evangelising the many villages.<sup>34</sup> Burton's frustration at the immensity of the task will be seen throughout the study.

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<sup>28</sup> Blakeney, it will be seen later, greedily (in Burton's opinion) took funds with him when he left Mwanza in 1915. Upon arrival in Congo in 1921 he is writing to USA supporters of being in desperate need for money; see: *PE* 418-19 (12/11/1921): 12.

<sup>29</sup> *PE* 430-31 (04/02/1922): 13. Garrard presents a useful list of the eighteen protestant missionary societies that were in Congo by 1920, see: David Garrard, 'History of the Congo Evangelistic Mission/Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre from 1915 to 1982' (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 1983), 17, n.32. Here, I am only mentioning those that were in Kasai and Katanga bordering the CEM.

<sup>30</sup> *PE* 601 (16/06/1925): 10. Given that the distance from Gombari to Mwanza is over twelve hundred miles, it is unsurprising that I can find no evidence of any early contacts between AG and CEM missionaries.

<sup>31</sup> The *Conseil Protestant du Congo* [Congo Protestant Council] was composed of representatives from all the protestant missions in Congo; it had no executive powers but subscribed to building up the 'one church of Christ in Congo'. This included missions agreeing to geographical boundaries. For more on this, see: Alfred R. Stonelake, *Congo Past and Present* (London: World Dominion Press 1937), 56, 61-62. This council was composed entirely of white representatives from the missionary societies. It was only in 1950 that the council first considered accepting Congolese representatives as council members. See Marvin D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Publications, 1973), 114.

<sup>32</sup> *CEMR* 49: (July-August 1934): 822. John Mott of the International Council of Foreign Missions was the guest speaker; Edmund Hodgson and the Burtons were representing the CEM. The meeting was held June 1<sup>st</sup> 1934 at Elisabethville. For more on John R. Mott, see: E.J.Bingle, 'John R. Mott, 1865-1955,' *International Review of Mission*, 44:174 (1955): 137-138.

<sup>33</sup> See: Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, 38: here he mentions a Baptist Missionary river steamer, the 'Grenfell' being attacked by Roman Catholic Congolese at the instigation of a Roman Catholic priest; 45: here he recounts the restrictions placed upon all protestant missions in and around the large mining companies in Katanga. Throughout this study there is evidence of Burton's recording of Roman Catholic antagonism towards the CEM.

<sup>34</sup> See appendix 6. The scale of the task involved is seen in appendix 7, Burton's 1933 map of the working sphere of the CEM.

The first protestant mission to operate in Katanga, the Garenganze Evangelical Mission (Garenganze), had an especially good relationship with the CEM. It operated east of the CEM field. Frederick Stanley Arnot, from the Plymouth Brethren, had arrived in Bunkeya in 1896.<sup>35</sup> Dan Crawford's close relationship with Burton will be examined in chapter three. However, the sense of cooperation and friendship was much wider than just Burton and Crawford. For example, Garenganze missionaries attended the wedding of CEM missionaries Marjorie Hebden and Cyril Taylor; this was reported in the *Congo Evangelistic Mission Report (CEMR)*.<sup>36</sup> Burton having a holiday 'on the other side of the river' with Brethren missionaries (the Hoytes) was also recorded.<sup>37</sup>

Methodist episcopal missionaries alongside Garenganze missionaries witnessed the death of CEM missionary William J. Thomson from blackwater fever; they are together described as 'godly workers' in *CEMR*.<sup>38</sup> The Methodist mission functioned south of the CEM field. Burton thanked God for 'such easy-to-get-on-with neighbours as the Methodists'.<sup>39</sup> Although discussions were had at times with the Methodists over certain towns, such as Kabongo (110 miles west of Mwanza, which the expanding CEM field surrounded), relations seem to have always been cordial. *CEMR* reported the 1933 arrangements that had been made for the CEM to 'take responsibility' for the Kabongo district and thanked God for the 'kindly and tolerant spirit' which the Methodists 'and indeed all our neighbouring missions, have shown in their dealings with us'.<sup>40</sup> John Springer of the Methodists wrote to Burton about the 'prayer co-operation' and 'comity and team work in the Kingdom' that existed between the two missions.<sup>41</sup> Burton later wrote about this: 'we are not forming different ecclesiastical denominations in the Congo, but one great Church of God, consisting of every believer in the Lord Jesus Christ'.<sup>42</sup>

The Exclusive Brethren Westcott Mission was founded in 1897. This was north of the CEM field at Lusambo and Mpanya Mutombo, both on the Sankuru river. Their missionaries were

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<sup>35</sup> Ernest Baker, *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot* (New York: Dutton and Company, 1921).

<sup>36</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 17.

<sup>37</sup> *CEMR* 9 (July-September 1925): 91.

<sup>38</sup> *CEMR* 43 (July-August 1933): 688. Thomson was a CEM missionary from 1930-1933. He had come from New Zealand following James Salter's and Smith Wigglesworth's joint promotion of the CEM there. (More will be written about these two below). Thomson had been nominated to be made the treasurer of the CEM.

<sup>39</sup> *CEMR* 44 (September-October 1933): 715.

<sup>40</sup> *CEMR* 42 (May-June 1933): 693.

<sup>41</sup> *CEMR* 45 (November-December 1933): 736.

<sup>42</sup> *CEMR* 116 (January-February 1946): 3.

described as ‘kind friends’ in *CEMR*.<sup>43</sup>

One final neighbouring mission was the American Presbyterian mission found to the west of the CEM area. Again, positive references can be found describing CEM missionaries as being ‘blessed in so many instances by the help and love of our neighbours, the American Presbyterian Congo Mission’.<sup>44</sup> Such sentiment is in keeping with Burton’s 1947 estimation of there being ‘a splendid understanding between the various missions’ with ‘no thought of perpetuating European differences in the African church’.<sup>45</sup>

These missions did keep to their boundaries during the first thirty or so years of Burton’s time in Congo. Boundaries became less distinct with the proliferation of travel to mining areas and the general increase in the number of converts from all these missions. However, Burton in 1918 could write from Bukama of how Crawford was twelve days’ walk away to the east, and continued to show why the protestant missions were not in competition in Katanga by contrasting his situation with a more crowded scene in South Africa:

Supposing you were to start from here you could go by steamer for eight days, or 17 days on foot, then 270 miles by rail, and again 40 miles by boat, past great kingdoms, and large villages, without a preacher who knows the language, excepting Brothers Salter and Gatzke and myself, and a handful of poorly instructed Native preachers ... How does this compare with South Africa where you have an average of one missionary to 7,000 Natives, and in many places the Natives are better evangelized than in our English towns and villages. Around Mwanza, within a radius of 34 miles, we have roughly speaking, a quarter of a million souls – about the same number as the Natives on the Rand [...] I once went to preach on a Rand Compound, and as soon as we had finished a Presbyterian Native preacher took our place, to be followed by a Methodist [...] in the course of a Sunday five different Protestant Christian denominations preach there.<sup>46</sup>

Burton’s frustration here adds colour to the above contextualization of this study in the wider context of Congolese Christianity. It will be seen that this study will however, examine far more than the movements of the various white missionaries.

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<sup>43</sup> *CEMR* 59 (March-April 1936): 39. In this case, their kindness was shown by providing overnight accommodation for Salter and other travelling CEM missionaries.

<sup>44</sup> *CEMR* 43 (July-August 1933): 702. Also see *CEMR* 61 (July-August 1936): 67, Salter describing receiving ‘generous hospitality’ from Presbyterian missionaries at Luputa. He states the ‘McKees were kindness itself’.

<sup>45</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *MUDISHI, Congo Hunter* (Luton, AOG, 1947), 135.

<sup>46</sup> *RFWFPB* 13 (21/07/1918): 3-4. Burton goes on to complain about the ‘unfairness of it all’ when comparing the South African situation to his situation with Salter, ‘already weakened’ and Gatzke ‘still new in language and experience’.

## 1.2 A Brief Survey of Burton's Resonance in British Pentecostalism

Having set the scene of the broader context, an introduction to Burton can be gained through browsing general British pentecostal archives and memorabilia. He figures prominently at one level, simply because he was a missionary. Pentecostals have always held missionaries in high esteem, seeing them as 'heroes of the faith'.<sup>47</sup> However, Burton's statesmanlike mien in pentecostal writings is easily discovered. *CEMR* in 1965 reckoned the name of this 'great' yet 'humble man' was a 'household word among English speaking Pentecostals'.<sup>48</sup> Donald Gee writing in *Pentecost*, 'The name of W.F.P. Burton [...] is honoured throughout the world for his gifted ministry in connection with the Gospel' testifies to his worldwide standing in classical Pentecostalism.<sup>49</sup> Gee was significant in pentecostal circles.<sup>50</sup> Burton's speaking at pentecostal meetings was evidently appreciated. At the 1955 Assemblies of God (AOG) conference, Burton received an ovation. After his preaching the 'chairman made an appeal for those to dedicate their lives to God [...] hundreds were standing under a mighty anointing of God'.<sup>51</sup> A long scroll photograph of the members of the AOG council at the 37<sup>th</sup> General Conference in Skegness in 1960 shows Burton at the conference sitting in one of the central positions.<sup>52</sup> In the early 1960s Howard Carter speaks to an AOG conference on the need for apostles chiding delegates for thinking they can cope without them. Carter names Burton as a model apostle who has over a thousand churches in Congo. He tells delegates they must 'blush with shame' when comparing AOG with Burton's achievements.<sup>53</sup> When Douglas Quay first becomes involved on the BBC Network Three religious programme, Burton is the

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<sup>47</sup> Yong, A. and T. Richie, 'Missiology and the Interreligious Encounter' in *Studying Global*, 245.

<sup>48</sup> *CEMR* 344 (July 1965): 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Pentecost* 2 (December 1947): 6.

<sup>50</sup> David Bundy, 'Gee, Donald' in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Mass (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 662-663; Missen, *The Sound*, 37-40; *RT* 42:33 (12/08/1966): 17-18.

<sup>51</sup> *Pentecost* 32 (June 1955): 8.

<sup>52</sup> Photographer unknown, a long scroll photograph of the members of the AOG council at the 37<sup>th</sup> General Conference at Butlins Holiday Camp in Skegness in 1960, John Emmett archives. Burton is actually on the first row seated in a central position between James Salter and Alfred Webb, pastor of the Dagenham AOG church. Donald Gee is a few seats away. Webb later visited Congo and is pictured in the magic lantern slide presentation, 'The Growth of the CEM Work', reel to reel recording, (10:22) c.1970. Webb was mentored by John Nelson Parr in Manchester after leaving the Baptist Church upon seeing Stephen Jeffreys' campaign in Manchester; see: Missen, *The Sound*, 30.

<sup>53</sup> Howard Carter, 'The Need for Apostolic and Prophetic Ministry' [audio recording] (n.d. early 1960s). Accessed 09/05/2016, <http://www.brothermel.org/audio-video/113>. Carter tells the delegates that in comparison to Burton's achievements 'we blush with shame, or have we got past blushing [...] in this favoured isle?'. Howard Carter had been on the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) Council from 1921-1925 and became the principal of the Hampstead Bible School from 1921-1948. He was also one of the founding members of AOG in 1924. For more on Howard Carter see: David D. Bundy, 'Carter, Alfred Howard (1891-1971) in Burgess et al., *New International*, 456.

first person to be interviewed in 1961.<sup>54</sup> A 1965 report on John Nelson Parr's retirement refers to his links with 'the great Congo Evangelistic Mission'.<sup>55</sup> In June 1965, *RT* has a panel publicising the 'CEM Jubilee' report with the words, 'It is FIFTY YEARS since Mr. W. Burton and Mr. J. Salter pioneered this New Testament Church of modern times'.<sup>56</sup> Gerald Chamberlain in 1970 writes a historical overview of Pentecostalism and writes of 'such wonderful men as W.F.P.Burton'.<sup>57</sup> Ron Trudinger in 1980 describes Burton as 'a veritable stalwart'.<sup>58</sup> After his death, Burton still appears in more formal writing: William Kay in 2007 describes Burton as 'unquestionably an apostle according to biblical criteria',<sup>59</sup> and in 2009 as 'a gifted artist, linguist, map-maker, Bible teacher, builder and leader'.<sup>60</sup>

Burton died on 23rd January 1971, the same day as Howard Carter. Pentecostals saw the coincidence of their deaths as 'remarkable' and a joint memorial service was held at the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London with the 'great auditorium comfortably filled'. CEM missionary Joe Robinson<sup>61</sup> spoke of Burton's 'laying the foundation of the CEM 55 years

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<sup>54</sup> *RT* 37:3 (13/01/1961): 14. The programme was called 'Christian Outlook'. Douglas Quay went on to be a regular reporter on Christian Outlook. Accessed 19/11/2015, <http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?adv=0&q=%22Christian+Outlook%22+Quay+&media=all&yf=1923&yt=2009&mf=1&mt=12&tf=00%3A00&tt=00%3A00#search>. In 1961 Congo would have been very newsworthy, following the post-Independence tensions. Quay was on the AOG radio council. He was instrumental later in setting up a retirement home in Bedford, where some CEM missionaries (such as Harold and Josie Womersley) spent their final years.

<sup>55</sup> *Pentecost* 71 (March-May 1965): 3. Emphasis mine. George Jeffreys Williamson is writing here as chairperson of AOG. For more on John Nelson Parr see: Harry Letson, 'Serving His Generation: The Contribution of John Nelson Parr to the Pentecostal Movement,' *JEPTA* 26:1 (2006): 7-20; Desmond Cartwright, 'Parr, John Nelson (1886-1976)' in Burgess et al., *New International*, 957; Missen, *The Sound*, 28-32; Keith Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered: British and Irish Pioneers of Pentecost* (Maitland: Xulon, 2008), 299-310.

<sup>56</sup> *RT* 41:26 (25/06/1965): 23. Emphasis theirs. Calling a church 'New Testament' was symptomatic of the idealistic and pentecostal pursuit of 'the doctrines and practices of the first-generation apostolic church in the Bible', see: Dale Irvin, 'Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins,' *Pneuma* 27:1 (2005): 37. As a 1954 example of such thinking, see: James Stewart, 'The First Christians Put us to Shame' in *PE* 2087 (09/05/1954): 3. Burton in 1934 saw the Acts of the Apostles as 'not merely God's picture of the early church', but 'of the church as he intended it throughout the age'; see: W.F.P.Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor* (London: Victory, 1934), 120. He further exemplifies this way of thinking here: 'so long as there is a soul to save, or a country of the world to evangelise, we are to teach exactly as those first disciples learned and taught others [...] we may expect the same miracles in the same sort of church'.

<sup>57</sup> *RT* 46:10 (05/03/1970): 9. Chamberlain describes Burton as being of 'the renowned Congo Evangelistic Mission'. Chamberlain was an AOG pastor in Upper Gornal, Tipton, at this point, moving to Chesterfield in 1974, see: *RT* 50:2 (10/01/1974): 17.

<sup>58</sup> Ron Trudinger, *Master Plan: God's Foundation Stones for Church Restoration* (Basingstoke: Olive Tree, 1980), 13. Trudinger was associated with Barney Coombs a restorationist leader (who will figure later) and the restorationist churches.

<sup>59</sup> William Kay, *Apostolic Networks in Britain: New Ways of Being Church* (London: Paternoster (2007), 84. Kay describes here Coombs getting to know Burton and Arthur Wallis.

<sup>60</sup> William Kay, *Pentecostalism* (London: SCM, 2009), 144.

<sup>61</sup> Joe Robinson was a CEM missionary from 1947-88 (the latter years serving as the Home Representative).



ago, now one of the largest Pentecostal works in the world'. John Emmett spoke of 'rich personal memories' among which was 'the time after preaching to a group of about 20 of his fellow-missionaries, [Burton] took a towel and water, and washed their feet'.<sup>62</sup> He also described having Burton stay in his home in Birmingham on his last visit to England as 'a tremendous privilege and an honour'. John Emmett lauded Burton's humility; at the time of this visit Burton had looked at a set of slides and produced a commentary for it. He said, 'Brother Emmett, I see you have a picture of me on the second slide, can you please take it out and replace it with a map of Africa'.<sup>63</sup> Eric Dando<sup>64</sup> saw Carter as a New Testament prophet and Burton as a New Testament apostle, whilst accepting Burton 'would have shrunk from the title'.<sup>65</sup> Had he heard, Burton would have been frustrated with any accolades given to him. He had objected to what he called 'iconizing' of any individual, critiquing Pentecostalism in Britain in 1934: 'Hero-worship still looms very large in human mentality'.<sup>66</sup>

### 1.2.1 Burton's Location through his Associations

Burton can also be found in what would be, for classical Pentecostals, less obvious places.<sup>67</sup> Some outside of Pentecostalism experienced rupture from their own non-pentecostal

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<sup>62</sup> RT 47:6 (25/03/1971): 3. This was at Katombe, John Emmett adds how Burton had said, 'Brethren, will you remove your socks and your shoes' and that any other person doing this would not have impressed him. Burton did; see: Memorial Service for Burton and Carter [reel to reel tape recording] 1971. J. Emmett archives, Birmingham, UK. John Emmett was a CEM missionary from 1948-1960 and after that was on the HRC until his death in 1986.

<sup>63</sup> W.F.P. Burton and Howard Carter, Joint Memorial Service, 12/02/1971.

<sup>64</sup> Eric Dando was chairman of the AOG executive council at the time; for a hagiographical appreciation of Dando, who died suddenly in April 1983, see: RT 59:21 (26/05/1983): 2-5.

<sup>65</sup> RT 47:6 (25/03/1971): 3.

<sup>66</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 01/07/1934.

<sup>67</sup> I have not mentioned here Burton's association with David du Plessis. Du Plessis is hard to categorise, given his relationship with classical Pentecostalism. He was in and out of classical Pentecostalism because of his ecumenical stance; see: Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2014), 161; Joshua Ziefle, *David du Plessis and the Assemblies of God* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). There are some parallels, which could be explored between du Plessis' relationship with AG's Thomas Zimmerman and Burton's relationship with Womersley. Du Plessis called Burton in 1965, 'that precious saint and Pentecostal Pioneer'; they had known each other since 1920; see: *Pentecost*, 71 (March-May 1965): 15. Du Plessis at the time of his death had preserved some of Burton's published and unpublished writings; see: Collection 1: papers of David du Plessis, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary. Listed are Burton's *Signs Following*, and an unpublished paper of Burton's, which is described as 'anti-Catholic, worship of Mary'. For more generalised background to du Plessis see: William Kay, *Apostolic*, 6-7; R.P. Spittler, 'Du Plessis, David Johannes' in Burgess et al., *New International*, 589-592. Spittler writes how du Plessis' parents had become Pentecostals through the influence of John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch, whose names appear during Burton's first months in Africa. He also adds how du Plessis was named by *Time Magazine* in 1974 as one of the 'leading shapers and shakers of Christianity'.

churches after meeting Burton. David Lillie,<sup>68</sup> in the Open Brethren, met Burton in Exeter when he was speaking to a group led by Ren Jackman.<sup>69</sup> After meeting Burton, Lillie unsuccessfully tried to convince the local Brethren leaders to meet with Burton. They refused and suspended Lillie from all active ministry because of his association with Burton.<sup>70</sup> Later, Burton lent Jackman G.H.Lang's book on the local church, which Lillie also borrowed.<sup>71</sup> Lillie met Arthur Wallis, who had also read G.H.Lang. In corresponding together Lang encouraged Wallis to believe Spirit baptism was necessary.<sup>72</sup> Wallis and Lillie went on to be viewed as the harbingers of the British restoration movement;<sup>73</sup> Lillie as 'the theological architect of modern Restorationist ecclesiology'.<sup>74</sup>

Other early pioneers of the British restoration movement, such as Barney Coombs,<sup>75</sup> also reference Burton as someone who was 'influencing' what they would describe as a 'new generation of British church leaders'.<sup>76</sup> Trudinger describes how Burton would visit Coombs' home 'to confirm him in his restoration-wards course'.<sup>77</sup> Coombs admired Burton for two reasons: his 'devotion to Jesus' and 'his willingness to change, even as an old and respected leader'. Coombs viewed Burton as a 'spiritual father'.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> David Lillie corresponded with Burton from the late 1930s to at least the late 1950s. See: Roy and Marion Leeming archives. These are letters photocopied by the Leemings when Lillie lived at 'Lark Rise' in Exton, near Exeter, close to a cousin of Marion Leeming. For more on Lillie see: Andrew Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom: The Radical Christianity of the House Church Movement 3rd Edition* (Guildford: Eagle 1998), 21-23.

<sup>69</sup> Ren Jackman had left the Elim church in Exeter believing Elim to be too centralised. Burton remembered that group three and a half years later referring to them as 'that lovely little band of saints who were so kind to us when we visited Exeter', see: Burton, letter to Lillie, 10/12/1941.

<sup>70</sup> Peter Hocken, *Streams of Renewal: The Origins and Development of the Charismatic Movement* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), 12. Hocken states this was in the late 1930s.

<sup>71</sup> Burton, letter to Lillie, 13/04/1937.

<sup>72</sup> Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2013), 193-194. Stanley states here that Lillie had been more influenced by G.H.Lang than Wallis. See also: Hocken, *Streams*, 11-13. G.H.Lang was described as 'the most apostolic man' an unnamed person had ever met, on the flyleaf on G.H.Lang, *An Ordered Life* (London: Paternoster 1958).

<sup>73</sup> Walker, *Restoring*, 52-53; Max Turner, 'Ecclesiology in the Major "Apostolic" Restorationist Churches in the United Kingdom', *Vox Evangelica* 19 (1989): 83-108; David Emmett, 'An Examination of the Development of a Distinctive Restoration Doctrine during the years 1975-1985 and the extent of its application in the city of Manchester in recent years' (MTh diss., Regents Theological College, 2001).

<sup>74</sup> Walker, *Restoring*, 21-22.

<sup>75</sup> For a little more on Coombs see: K.(sic)[W.] Kay, 'Coombs, Barnabas (Barney)' in Burgess et al., *New International*, 561-562. Kay refers in this to Burton's influence on Coombs referring to Burton as a 'missionary/apostle'.

<sup>76</sup> Bob Whitchurch, *The Journey* (Oxford: Salt and Light Ministries, 2002), 10.

<sup>77</sup> Trudinger, *Master Plan*, 13.

<sup>78</sup> Whitchurch, *Journey*, 18. Another early restorationist leader, Hugh Thompson (see: Walker, *Restoring*, 88-90) told me he thought of Burton as both a 'sweet man' and 'a fatherly figure'. Hugh Thompson, telephone conversation with the author, 26/01/2011.

### 1.2.2 Burton in Hagiographical Writing

Some have written in hagiographical terms about Burton.<sup>79</sup> Harold Womersley<sup>80</sup> however, wrote the only biography on Burton (before this study) in 1973, *Wm.F.P.Burton: Congo Pioneer*. This was not something he had looked to do, but was in response to the request of the Home Reference Council (HRC) and trustees of the CEM. They believed that there had been a ‘widespread desire’ for a biography following Burton’s death in 1971.<sup>81</sup> The objectivity of any writing about Burton done on behalf of the CEM trustees and its HRC immediately raises hermeneutical suspicion. Parr wrote the foreword to the biography, calling Burton ‘a man of God’ and a ‘worthy apostle of Jesus Christ’.<sup>82</sup>

An Anglican, Michael Harper,<sup>83</sup> was asked to write the preface. Given Burton’s attitude towards Anglicanism, which will become clear below, readers who knew Burton might have perceived that Womersley was not writing hagiography. Indubitably, Burton, the author of ‘Don’t Call Me Reverend’,<sup>84</sup> would have been more than disgruntled with his biographer’s reference to ‘the Rev. Michael Harper’ in the introduction.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, the choice of Harper is more puzzling when reading Harper only met Burton once, at a meeting where Oral Roberts<sup>86</sup> was speaking. Nevertheless, based on this one encounter, Harper concluded Burton ‘must rank among the greatest missionaries of this century’. Harper added condescendingly that

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<sup>79</sup> These include: 1) Geoff Atkinson, four pages in *RT* 47:10 (22/04/1971): 2-6. Atkinson was pastor of the Preston AOG church at that time and the father of Heather Atkinson (CEM missionary 1959-1979) who married Edmund Rowlands (CEM missionary 1956-1979); see: *CEMR* 280 (March 1960): 14; Atkinson died a few months after writing this; Harold Womersley spoke at his graveside saying that he had been ‘the senior trustee of the C.E.M.’. See: *RT* 47:26 (12/08/1971): 6. 2) Colin Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers* (Basingstoke: Marshall and Pickering 1983), 146-169. Whittaker wrote this while editor of *RT*, which he had been since August 1978; see: *RT* 54:25 (22/06/1978): 3. 3) Alfred Missen wrote a chapter in Missen, *The Sound*, 68-72. Missen is writing a history of the British AOG and seems to have an agenda to include CEM into AOG citing that in 1973 the CEM had had 182 missionaries in its history, 118 of whom were from the British AOG and twelve from AOG outside of the UK. Missen also points out earlier how the CEM ‘only added to the problems of the P.M.U.’; see: Missen, 61. Trudinger mentions Burton in Trudinger, *Master Plan*, 13 and 120. Trudinger refers to Burton as having planted thousands of churches. Burton, of course, never founded ‘thousands of churches’, as will become evident. Trudinger is exaggerating. Also, Trudinger describes a man Burton healed as ‘obviously a chief’; this, I suspect, is an ‘upgrading’ of his status by Trudinger to amplify the story; I can find no reference to him being a chief, only to his leading the village in an attack on lions.

<sup>80</sup> Womersley was a CEM missionary from 1924-1970. His son David Womersley was a CEM missionary and CEM Home Representative from 1953-2004 and figures in this thesis.

<sup>81</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> John Nelson Parr, foreword in Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*.

<sup>83</sup> For more on Harper see: Peter Hocken, ‘Harper, Michael Claude’ in Burgess et al., *New International*, 689-690; William Kay, ‘Michael Harper (1931-2010) *JEPTA*, 30:1 (2010): iv. For a synopsis of his work with Fountain Trust, see: Kay, *Apostolic*, 8-10.

<sup>84</sup> Burton, unpublished handwritten paper, n.d. ‘Don’t Call Me Reverend’.

<sup>85</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 13.

<sup>86</sup> For more on Oral Roberts see: P.G. Chappell, ‘Roberts, Granville Oral’ in Burgess et al., *New International*, 1024-1025.

Burton ‘would almost certainly have been better known had he not had to bear the stigma of being a Pentecostal’.<sup>87</sup> Womersley judged Burton to be ‘one of the best-known Pentecostal missionaries in the world’.<sup>88</sup> Any hesitation as to the hagiographical nature of the book is removed when Womersley supports his style of writing at the end of the first chapter egregiously defending his hagiography by suggesting it may all turn out to be an understatement:

Surely we are overrating this man? Willie Burton hated flattery, artificiality and false praise. No! we (sic) are simply trying to show in this book what God can do with a totally dedicated man [the book] may indeed be an understatement of what he was to God and man.<sup>89</sup>

Pentecostals in the past could ‘ritualize’ pentecostal history to ‘cast it into the form of a morality play’ in order to ‘serve the theological and institutional needs of the movement at the time’.<sup>90</sup> This is exemplified in the title of the final chapter of *Wm.F.P. Burton*, which indicates both the underlying and the primary objective of the biography, ‘The Congo Evangelistic Mission’. Womersley exploits the hagiography to promote the CEM, his concluding words being, ‘Please pray for *us as we continue* to serve the Lord in Zaïre’.<sup>91</sup> *Wm.F.P. Burton* provides much information about Burton, but further research in this thesis will add dimensions to the one-dimensional knowledge presented and show that the readers of Womersley’s biography actually ‘see through a glass darkly’.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Michael Harper, preface in Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*. Burton at this, the only meeting he ever had with Harper, had been looking at a ‘huge portrait of Archbishop Cosmo Lang’; he turned and looked at Harper, with what Harper described as ‘a dead-pan expression’ and asked Harper, ‘do you think he was saved?’ One could suspect Burton was deliberately antagonising Harper. See: Harper, foreword in Whittaker, *Seven*, 10.

<sup>88</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 121

<sup>89</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 19-20.

<sup>90</sup> Grant Wacker, ‘Are the Golden Oldies Still Worth Playing,’ *Pneuma* 8:1 (1986): 95. He is referencing Davis Bitton, ‘The Ritualization of Mormon History,’ *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 43:1 (1975): 83.

<sup>91</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 160. Emphasis mine.

<sup>92</sup> Wacker, ‘Are the Golden Oldies,’ 97. Wacker’s point here is that we all see in this way.

### 1.2.3 Burton in More Recent Theoretical Writing<sup>93</sup>

Burton is more difficult to find in theoretical writing. This thesis is adding original knowledge by contributing non-hagiographical biographical writing about Burton. Two writers have written about Burton in this way, but neither has written biographies.<sup>94</sup>

David Maxwell<sup>95</sup> has already published some detailed theoretical work around Burton's contribution to colonial knowledge, which complements this narrative but is no replacement for it. Burton's ethnographical research and contribution to colonial knowledge is not duplicated in this thesis. Maxwell views Burton as 'a progenitor of a Pentecostal missionary tradition' and as equally 'remembered for his scientific research on southeast Belgian Congo'.<sup>96</sup> Maxwell states, 'Proselytism remained Burton's primary goal' and adds that Burton used ethnography 'to inform his missiological strategy'.<sup>97</sup> Maxwell accepts the emphasis of his own writing on Burton is outside of Burton's fundamental passion. Maxwell's attention is on colonial science and Burton's pentecostal intensity is ancillary to that in his investigation. Maxwell's research therefore cannot fully reflect Burton's 'theological heart'.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Even writing of a more theoretical nature, as opposed to overtly hagiographical writing about pentecostal history can quickly take on a complimentary tone when mentioning Burton. For instance, Hocken in a paper on Cecil Polhill, writes of 'the heroic stature of men such as Burton and Salter' and more analytically how these two men 'came to provide a ready-made alternative', within Britain, meaning from the PMU, for 'Pentecostal missionary zeal'. See: Peter Hocken, 'Cecil Polhill – Pentecostal Layman', unpublished paper, n.d.: 38. (This paper does have a handwritten note saying, 'c.1981' which would be based upon Hocken writing to Desmond Cartwright saying approximately when he wrote the paper). Hocken goes on to point out how the PMU came to represent primarily the South of England whereas the North of England had stronger pentecostal centres, such as Preston, 39.

<sup>94</sup> Anderson and Kay refer to Burton in wider overviews of Pentecostalism; see the bibliography for their works mentioning Burton.

<sup>95</sup> Since 2014 Maxwell has been the Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

<sup>96</sup> David Maxwell, 'From Iconoclasm to Preservation: W.F.P. Burton, Missionary Ethnography and Belgian Colonial Science' in ed. Patrick Harries et al., *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 155-156.

<sup>97</sup> Maxwell, 'From Iconoclasm,' 159.

<sup>98</sup> Kay, *Pentecostalism*, 18. Kay here is making the point that an account of the Reformation using Marxist dialectical materialism would attribute the wrong motives to Luther and speak of such things as the 'proletarian successes that led to the severance from the pope', ignoring such scenes as Luther's 'own wrestling with a troubled conscience' and 'the vital role of the doctrine of justification'. There is a parallel here to any writing about Burton's life that does not give due weight to his pentecostal faith. Burton's 'theological heart' comes across in this thesis and in snippets from letters. For example, Burton was engrossed in producing cane furniture at Mwanza; see: Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 96-97. Burton nevertheless could yet write in 1930, 'We have stopped all cane work [...] The fact is, such work acts as a strong competitor to real soul-saving in one's time & interests'; see: Burton, letter to Salter, 08/05/1930. Further evidence of the primacy of evangelism over ethnographical work can be seen even in Burton's own ethnographical writing. Burton's *How they Live in Congoland* is 159 pages of ethnographical descriptive writing for western children. In this descriptive writing Burton's primary objective again comes across; the last page reads, 'We have reached

Given Maxwell's highlighting of colonial science, it is understandable that his writing does not describe or examine Burton's pentecostal praxis in any detail. Maxwell gives biographical details that are closer to 'Burton's heart', but misinterpretations can be found here. This thesis mentions some of these at the relevant points in the Burton narrative. Maxwell has misunderstandings that are especially dubious in the light of this research on this Pentecostal.

In his 2015 published work, 'The Missionary Home as a Site for Mission', Maxwell commences a section entitled, 'The Congo Evangelistic Mission'. He writes that it 'was founded by William Burton and James Salter in Mwanza, near Katanga, Belgian Congo in 1915. It was intended to be a mission to Luba- and Songye-speaking peoples'.<sup>99</sup> Setting aside that Mwanza (the town) was near to Katanga (the province Mwanza was in), which is similar to saying Preston is near to Lancashire, there are other erroneous conclusions drawn from this sentence. Firstly, Burton and Salter did not found the CEM until years later and initially operated under the covering of the Pentecostal Mission (PM). Secondly, in 1915 there is no evidence of any intent to go to Basongye-speaking people, who were two weeks' walk away. Maxwell's simplistic accounting deprives the historiography of its texture by ignoring the frustrations involved with the processes of both the CEM being officially founded in 1922 and in the complicated narrative of a freed Musongye slave returning from Angola to be the progenitor of the gospel to Basongye-speaking people much later. This thesis, on the other hand, outlines the progressive evolution of both expanding to the north and CEM status, addressing both the idealism and the frustrations involved. Maxwell's readers inappropriately read a more deliberate historiography with things already accomplished (in the case of the CEM being founded) and already premeditated (in the case of advance to Basongye-speakers) in 1915.

Further, Maxwell writes here about the policy on CEM missionaries before 1934:

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the end of our simple survey of life in Central Africa [...] Reader, you are either *saved or lost*: on your way to Heaven or Hell [...] What a terrible thing it would be to see thousands of those black folk thronging to the courts of Heaven, and yourself shut out into darkness and woe. Then let the precious news of a Saviour [...] Trust in Him and He will save you now'; see: W.F.P. Burton, *How they live in Congoland: An Account of the Character and Custom of This Most Interesting Race and Efforts to Win Them for Christ* (London: Pickering and Inglis, n.d), 159.

<sup>99</sup> David Maxwell, 'The Missionary Home as a Site for Mission: Perspectives from Belgian Congo' in *Studies in Church History, Volume 50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 433.

[S]ingle men were accepted, while single women were viewed as too frail to survive the harsh bush environment and as less useful than African male evangelists [...] The bar on single women caused a stir at home [...] Eventually some single women were accepted by the CEM for missionary service, not least because it was hoped that they might be transformed into wives for the bachelor missionaries.<sup>100</sup>

His footnote to this statement references a letter from ‘Theo Myerscough to William Burton, 23 April 1934’. The letter he means to refer to is from Philip Myerscough<sup>101</sup> to William Burton, 25 April 1934. He elicits an impression that in April 1934 not one single woman had been accepted by the CEM. The reality was, that from 1915 to 1933 nineteen single women had worked as missionaries (six of whom did marry other missionaries).<sup>102</sup> In fact, just two months after the 1934 letter Maxwell cites, Burton did write to Philip Myerscough to let him know of the engagement of John Geddes, who had been in Congo since 1930, and so Burton could see his ideal realised and write, ‘so God has provided a married couple for Kabongo in the absence of the Womersleys’.<sup>103</sup>

Maxwell might have understood Philip Myerscough’s letter with greater accuracy had he read it through the lens of Burton’s frustrated idealism. Philip Myerscough did not mention a ‘ban’. He was only responding to Burton’s idealism in preferring applications from married couples. What Philip Myerscough had actually written was:

I note your remarks about the restrictions on the usefulness of “Sisters” and the desirability of having married couples which one can see is ideal, but it seems to me that when promising single young men offer themselves the only way to convert them ultimately into married couples is to accept Sisters who might supply the need.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Maxwell, ‘The Missionary Home,’ 438. Emphasis mine.

<sup>101</sup> I will always write Philip Myerscough’s name in full to distinguish him from his father Thomas Myerscough, whom I will refer to as Myerscough.

<sup>102</sup> They were: Julia Richardson (1915-1917); Augusta Hodges (1915-1917); Ruth Aaronson (1915-1915); Anna Toerien (1918-1927); Anna Rickow (1918); A. Meester (referred to as Sister or Miss Meester in *CEMR*) (1921-1923); Cissie Hazelwood (1922-1931); Marjorie Hebden (1922-1936); Josephine Smith-Turner (1925-1970); Josina Boshoff (1926-1935); Anna Maier (1926-1936); Amy Entwistle (1926-1958); Alice Turpin (1928-1932); Agnes McDonald (1929-1930); Bertha Gallup (1929-1943); Dorothy Ward (1930-1967); Emmeline Bartlett (1932-1941); Lydia Burnett (1933-1944); Bessie Swettenham (1933-1965); Irene Clarke (1933-1939).

<sup>103</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 26/09/1934.

<sup>104</sup> Philip Myerscough, letter to Burton, 25/04/1934. 53 years later, I married the missionary ‘Sister’ next door. Burton’s preference for married couples on the field comes across again in a letter in July 1934 to Salter; Burton writes that engaged couples on the field are only ‘20% efficient’ and ‘I like them to get married and put an end to the suspense [...] We have had at least our full share of love-sick maids and swains’; see: Burton, letter to Salter, 22/07/1934. This is in the context of Dorothy Ward (CEM missionary 1930-1967) marrying James Fowler (CEM missionary 1934-1967). Burton also wrote to the secretary of the AOG OMC in the same year stating that the ‘sphere for single sisters seems to become more and more restricted, so we are turning down applications from a number of good consecrated workers’; see: Burton, letter to Mr Tilling, 08/12/1934.

Maxwell is to be appreciated for bringing Burton into recent academic writing. Maxwell's work is a useful and welcome supplement to any biography on Burton, examining as it does Burton's ethnographical studies and contribution to colonial science in a way this thesis does not attempt. However, in terms of pentecostal historiography, it is not a responsible auxiliary for a detailed biography.

David Garrard, currently the director of Central African Missions (CAM),<sup>105</sup> joined the CEM as a missionary in 1973, two years after Burton's death. He has an unpublished 1983 PhD, which has a chapter examining 'its founders and establishment of the first station at Mwanza'.<sup>106</sup> This is something Garrard has also written about in a 2015 chapter in *Pentecostalism in Africa*.<sup>107</sup> Garrard, in his lengthy thesis, contributes great detail to the background of colonial restraints placed upon the CEM.<sup>108</sup> This is important to this thesis, but beyond its scope to provide the detail Garrard does.

Garrard's thesis is particularly useful for snippets (often in footnotes) of interviews he conducted with those who are no longer living. Garrard in 1983 records oral Congolese sources. Some are referenced in this thesis. He also uses 'recorded notes' from Womersley interviewing Burton about his personal history (and the history of the CEM) around 1954.<sup>109</sup> Garrard stated these notes were with David Womersley (his name will always be given in full to distinguish him from Harold Womersley), but David Womersley informed me that he had 'no idea where they are likely to be'.<sup>110</sup> Garrard can no longer provide notes from any of his other interviews.

While Burton is frequently mentioned, Garrard has not focused on Burton in his thesis and does not examine Burton's relationship with local agency in the way I do. Local agency such

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<sup>105</sup> Central African Missions is the current name given to the CEM. This was following some missionaries having to work outside of Congo when no longer being given official invitations from Congolese pentecostal leaders.

<sup>106</sup> Garrard, 'History,' iii.

<sup>107</sup> David Garrard, 'William F.P. Burton and the Birth of Congolese Pentecostalism' in Martin Lindhardt, *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 75-99.

<sup>108</sup> Garrard, 'History,' 107-129. I say 'lengthy' as Garrard was given permission by Aberdeen University to go beyond the normal word limit and told me in conversation he was encouraged to do so by his supervisor Andrew Walls. The letters that appeared are referred to below.

<sup>109</sup> Garrard refers to these in his bibliography as "'Recorded Notes", by Womersley at sea between Britain and Cape Town, c.1954 AZEM Kamina'. Kamina being where Womersley spent his final years in Congo.

<sup>110</sup> David Womersley, email to the author, 08/04/2013.



as Shalumbo, to whom I devote a substantial chapter in this thesis, is mentioned ten times, but not highlighted.<sup>111</sup> Garrard, who worked among the Baluba does not have access to the same Basongye sources that I used. Garrard does have a very useful appendix showing the placements of the freed slaves who became ‘active in evangelism the CEM area’.<sup>112</sup> Garrard has also published three articles in *JEPTA*, again re-working some of his 1983 writings alongside the more recent letters that have come to light.<sup>113</sup>

### 1.3 Burton’s Idealistic Considerations

The substantial (a comprehensive one would not be possible) non-hagiographical narrative of Burton’s life in the following chapters attempts to examine Burton’s idealism and associated frustration. Describing here, in general terms, his idealistic views on missionaries and on Pentecostalism itself will set the scene for the frustrations to follow.

#### 1.3.1 The Ideal Missionary

Reviewing the work of the CEM in 1967, Burton gives an idealistic and unequivocally pentecostal definition of a CEM missionary:

Central Africa has not just felt the impact of merely a Christian mission, but of a mission inspired by the Holy Ghost. We only accept missionaries who are filled with the Holy Spirit in the Bible way, praising and magnifying God in new tongues, as they did at the beginning. Moreover our testimony has been carried on with signs following. When Jesus went about preaching the gospel, he healed the sick and told his disciples, ‘As the Father has sent me, even so, send I you’. So, I doubt if any one of the hundreds of villages we have entered has been without miracles: lepers have been cleansed, blind have been given their sight, lame have been caused to walk and the sick have got up out of bed, healed as they were in the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> His name will be discussed in chapter five, where it will become evident why only a single name is referred to here.

<sup>112</sup> Garrard, ‘History,’ Appendix 7, 114-115. The account of two sets of slaves freed in Angola and arriving in Mwanza will be outlined in chapters four and five.

<sup>113</sup> David Garrard, ‘Burton’s Early Years of Ministry and Doctrine under the auspices of the PMU,’ *JEPTA* 32 (2012a): 13-14; David Garrard, ‘W.F.P. Burton and His Missionary Call,’ *JEPTA* 32.2 (2012b): 237-247; David Garrard, ‘William F.P. Burton and the Rupture with the PMU,’ *JEPTA* 33.1 (2103a): 14-27. These articles cover some of the material I had already written about in chapter two. Garrard does not parse the material as I do, so I have decided to still include my chapter two as it bolsters the rest of my thesis in showing Burton’s developmental years and his initial, yet profound, frustrations based upon his idealistic pentecostal beliefs.

<sup>114</sup> W.F.P. Burton, Commentary for magic lantern slides on a reel-to-reel recording, 1967. J.Emmett archives, Birmingham, UK.

It will be shown in the following chapters that living with such an idealistic view of missionaries was intellectually challenging for Burton and at times led to frustration when he was forced to accept the ideal was not realised.

### 1.3.2 An Ideal Pentecostalism

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen suggests that rather than considering ‘Pentecostalism’, a discussion of ‘Pentecostals’ would be more realistic.<sup>115</sup> Pentecostalism’s perceived success has included its ability to produce ‘local versions of a global message’.<sup>116</sup> It is ‘a religion made to travel’.<sup>117</sup> Given this, Pentecostalism has therefore been defined in different ways.<sup>118</sup> Although it is not at all a homogenous movement’, there are nevertheless ‘family resemblances’ in its ‘character, theology and ethos’.<sup>119</sup> Broadly speaking this translates into an emphasis on the ‘workings of the Holy Spirit especially in the use of such “gifts of the Spirit” as healing, prophecies and speaking in tongues’.<sup>120</sup>

It has been observed that while early Pentecostals would write on a wide range of theological issues, there was a reluctance to write any systematic theology. Further, they did not generally receive ‘formal academic training’.<sup>121</sup> Thomas Myerscough (henceforth Myerscough, his son is always given his full name, Philip Myerscough) had taught Burton, but most of Burton’s missionaries came without any training. Not having been taught a systematic or comprehensive theology meant that their brand of Pentecostalism could even vary from CEM station to CEM station. Thus, CEM missionaries who claimed to have been baptised in the Spirit, but not in Burton’s idealistic ‘Bible way’ (i.e. initial evidence of speaking in tongues), irritated Burton who saw them as potentially corrosive of his own Pentecostalism. For example, Leonard Gittings<sup>122</sup> passed through the selection process without agreeing to tongues as initial evidence. He had ‘stated definitely that he stands for a

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<sup>115</sup> Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *An Introduction to Ecclesiology: Ecumenical, Historical; & Global Perspectives* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2002), 70, and n.7.

<sup>116</sup> Anderson, Bergunder, Droogers and van der Laan, ‘Introduction’ in *Studying Global*, 1.

<sup>117</sup> Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge MA: Da Capo, 1995), 102.

<sup>118</sup> Allan Anderson, ‘African Pentecostalism’ in Adam Stewart, *Handbook of Pentecostal Christianity* (Illinois: Northern Illinois University press, 2012), 27-28; Kay, *Pentecostalism*, 5-8.

<sup>119</sup> Allan Anderson, ‘Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity,’ in Lamin Sanneh and Michael J. McClymond eds., *The Wiley and Blackwell Companion to World Christianity* (Chichester: John Wiley, 2016), 655.

<sup>120</sup> Anderson, ‘Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity,’ 653.

<sup>121</sup> Christopher Stephenson, *Types of Pentecostal Theology: Methods, Systems and Spirit* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3; Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 132-133.

<sup>122</sup> Leonard Gittings was a CEM missionary, 1926-1936.

baptism in the Spirit without tongues'.<sup>123</sup> Burton was frustrated and concerned for Smith Wigglesworth's grandson, Leslie Wigglesworth<sup>124</sup> who was stationed with Gittings. This caused Burton to write about Leslie Wigglesworth, 'I could wish that he were in [a] more thoroughly "Pentecostal" atmosphere than that of Gittings'.<sup>125</sup> Burton had written to the Salters in 1934 not academically stating he was concerned that there might be pentecostals evolving in the different CEM stations, but simply stating, 'one of the biggest tasks before us is that of keeping our little crowd of one heart and one mind'.<sup>126</sup>

## 1.4 Methodologies

Primary sources are mostly used in this study's middle chapters. Some are more readily available; others are in a researcher's hands for the first time. In attempting to accurately 'read between the lines' of material published for public consumption, I have looked to include 'correspondence of missionaries not written for publication and minutes of missionary board meetings'. However, in my 'quest for primary sources' I have gone the 'extra mile' especially with regard to oral sources mentioned below.<sup>127</sup>

### 1.4.1 Missionary Pioneering

Beginning with Burton's arrival in Congo in 1915, 'occasional' reports were printed free of charge by those to whom Burton refers as 'friends of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa' (AFM).<sup>128</sup> They are numbered as far as issue eighteen, although the first two, the seventh and twelfth are missing. Initially entitled 'Letters from the Congo', the fourth is

<sup>123</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 12/06/1935. Burton added, 'Thus I doubt he will continue longer than this term'.

<sup>124</sup> Leslie Wigglesworth was a CEM missionary from 1934-1953. Smith Wigglesworth was an iconic early Pentecostal from Bradford and is described more in chapter two. I mention his relationship to Leslie simply to contrast his more radical form of Pentecostalism with that of Gittings and hint that, given who Leslie Wigglesworth's grandfather was might have only served to increase Burton's angst. Having said that, it will be seen later Burton was not in the least intimidated by Smith Wigglesworth when he served on the CEM HRC. I will always write both Wigglesworths' names in full.

<sup>125</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 12/06/1935. When Salter visited the Katenta station, where Gittings and Leslie Wigglesworth were based, less than a year after this had been written, Salter wrote that he had been 'led' by the Lord to take just 'Brother Wigglesworth' on with him for a much longer trip because of his 'skill in dissembling and repairing the poor old radiator'. See: *CEMR* 59 (March-April 1936): 39. Gittings continued to translate the New Testament into Kisongye while Leslie Wigglesworth could report of a journey which involved seeing fourteen conversions, twenty water baptisms, charms being burned and also finding 'a real indigenous church' see: *CEMR* 60 (May-June 1936): 51-52, and 59.

<sup>126</sup> Burton, letter to the Salters, 04/09/1934.

<sup>127</sup> van der Laan, 'Historical Approaches,' 210. van der Laan is quoting Anderson when he refers to 'reading between the lines'.

<sup>128</sup> *CEMR* 1 (July-August 1923): 1. Burton adds, 'whose kindness to us, in this and other respects has been very warm and wholehearted'. The AFM was Hettie Trollip's home denomination, she married Burton on 23/05/1918.

called ‘Report from Bros. Burton and Salter’ and from the fifth onwards, they are then called ‘Report from Bro. W.F.P.Burton’ (hereafter all referred to as *RFWFPB*). Salter was still in Congo when this happened. Pentecostal Missionary Union council members referred to the CEM as ‘Burton’s mission’.<sup>129</sup>

After Burton returned to the UK in 1922 there is one extant ‘Report of the Work’ published in May 1922. This had a letter from Burton at the start followed by letters from Cyril Taylor,<sup>130</sup> James Salter and Edmund Hodgson<sup>131</sup>. Here, Burton writes of people urging him ‘again and again’ to write a book. He explains he has no time, but Max Moorhead has collected letters, reports and diaries and ‘has woven these into a book which will be profusely illustrated from our own photographs’. *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests* was published in 1922;<sup>132</sup> Moorhead describes the aim of this ‘missionary mosaic’ as to bring ‘good cheer and encouragement to missionaries throughout the wide world’ and be used by ‘the Lord of the Harvest’ so that ‘very many labourers may be speedily thrust forth into the harvest’.<sup>133</sup> This is a primary source full of Burton’s writings. In the first edition of *CEMR* Burton idealistically advertised the book stating, ‘it should be in the hands of every Pentecostal friend’ as it was ‘the best answer possible to those who reject the latter portion of Mark xvi, where our Lord said that those who believe should see signs following’.<sup>134</sup>

#### 1.4.2 Congo Evangelistic Mission Archives

The CEM archive is a rich vein for this thesis. It has provided minutes of the various missionary meetings that took place in Congo. These involved different numbers and came under various names such as General Field Council, Administrative Council or occasionally just called ‘CEM meeting’ recording those present. These are of immense value for this research and more valuable than the HRC minutes, which are also available, as Burton

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<sup>129</sup> Minutes of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (MPMU) No.7, 12/01/1923.

<sup>130</sup> Cyril Taylor was a CEM missionary from 1920 till 1935 when he died in Switzerland after having completed his furlough and having spent time ‘perfecting his French’ and having obtained his ‘Cambridge M.A. degree’; see: *CEMR* 53 (March-April 1935): 907.

<sup>131</sup> Edmund Hodgson was a CEM missionary from 1920-1960 and will figure especially in chapters four and six.

<sup>132</sup> Max Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests: A narrative of the Labours of William F.P.Burton and his companions in the Native Villages of Luba-Land* (Preston: R.Seed and Sons, 1922).

<sup>133</sup> Moorhead, preface in *Missionary Pioneering*. The book was sold at three shillings and six pence.

<sup>134</sup> *CEMR* 1 (July-August 1923): 12.

believed strongly that only missionaries on the field could ever govern the CEM. Burton's letters to Salter and the Myerscoughs<sup>135</sup> are kept in files, as too are his general letters to supporters along with other related correspondence of his, Salter's and the Myerscoughs'.

There was some initial reluctance on the part of the CEM to allow me access to these letters<sup>136</sup> and I was grateful to Maxwell forwarding me what he had already received.<sup>137</sup> The CEM members eventually gave me much help accessing the same archives. In addition, I opened a special file for letters deemed to be controversial. Garrard told me he did not have access to all the files when writing in 1983.

### **1.4.3 Congo Evangelistic Mission Report**

*CEMR* is a voluminous archive to exploit. A full set of *CEMR* in the CEM archives has been most useful.<sup>138</sup> The first 'official' *CEMR* was published in July 1923. At this time Burton idealistically believed there would be 'ample material for a weekly paper if necessary', but acknowledged his frustration with getting all the missionaries to 'feel equal responsibility to make it a success'. He saw the need to 'pray it into a really live paper, which will bring quickened interest to bear on the work'. He said that for him there was 'something so inspiring and enthusiastic about it'.<sup>139</sup> Written with the objective of giving information for prayer support, raising finance and recruiting new workers, the *CEMR* is undoubtedly a rare resource and is used extensively in this thesis. The portrayal of Luban and Basongye agency, including frequent contributions from that agency, furthers its remarkableness in pentecostal mission historiography.

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<sup>135</sup> Philip Myerscough succeeded his father, Thomas Myerscough, as the CEM secretary in 1932 after Thomas Myerscough's death earlier that year; see: *CEMR* 39 (November-December 1932): 633.

<sup>136</sup> In 2011 I was told in a telephone conversation that there was a 'sixty-year rule', which meant I could only access letters from before 1951. Another member of the CEM emailed me writing that trustees would need to give permission, but then was concerned about a senior member of the CEM knowing I was accessing the archives. I do not feel at liberty to give the names here.

<sup>137</sup> Maxwell, email message to the author, 14/01/2013.

<sup>138</sup> The importance of keeping the *CEMR* was not initially realised. It was not until 1939 when it was understood that 20 early editions were missing, '4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 31, 33, 35 and 37', and the request was put: 'Would any friends possessing any of these issues be so kind as to sacrifice them so that our files can be complete?'. See: *CEMR* 80 (September-October 1939): 464. There must have been a positive response as the copies are now complete, but issue 17 does have handwritten notes on it, and also issue 16 has part of the back page neatly cut out, which is a mystery.

<sup>139</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 28/04/1923. Missionaries did contribute to *CEMR*. Maxwell wrongly states Burton wrote 50-70 % of the material for *CEMR*. The most cursory glance would show this to be untrue; see: David Maxwell, 'Missionaries and Africans in the Making of Colonial Knowledge in Belgian Congo,' (Full Research Report ESRC End of Award Report, Swindon: ESRC, 2009): 27.

However, a note of caution needs to be made here as all articles were potentially redacted; in 1928 this was formally stated in the minutes of a Field Council meeting giving Burton, as editor at the time, ‘full permission [...] to revise letters and matters sent for the magazine’.<sup>140</sup> I take the possibility of redaction as a given each time I quote from *CEMR*.

Burton reported that Stanley Frodsham had once told him the CEM report was ‘the best missionary paper I know’.<sup>141</sup> In 1933 *CEMR* was running three thousand copies for each edition. Burton in his idealism felt the CEM had ‘the material and the appeal to reach 20,000 instead of 3000’.<sup>142</sup>

#### **1.4.4 Pentecostal Missionary Union Correspondence and Minutes**

The Donald Gee Centre has provided correspondence relating to the PMU meetings and minutes of both their own council meetings and subsequently the successor to the PMU, the AOG OMC (Overseas Missions Council). This archive has provided details regarding Burton’s years before travelling to Africa in 1914. It has also given insights into the effects of Burton’s venting of his frustrations upon the leading figures of the British Pentecostal movement at the time, which will be covered in chapter two.

#### **1.4.5 Walter Hawkins<sup>143</sup>**

Hawkins must have had access to certain archives around the time of Independence. Desmond Cartwright, Elim archivist, visited Hawkins fifty years later, when he was in his nineties and in a retirement home in Nottingham. Cartwright told me Hawkins had kept some archives, as he had wanted to ‘protect’ Burton’s reputation.<sup>144</sup> These included his letters to

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<sup>140</sup> Minutes of the Field Council Meetings, January 1928, No.10. (Unusually, neither the location nor the exact dates are recorded for these minutes and the minutes are written as paragraphs without numbers, rather than the more usual numbered short statements that appear elsewhere).

<sup>141</sup> Report of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, 10-16/08/1954, No.12. Burton would happily cite Stanley Frodsham, seeing he was the assistant editor of *PE*, from 1916-1921, and editor from 1921 to 1949, see: *PE* 1848 (08/10/1949): 4. Also see: Stanley Frodsham, *With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1941) and also Stanley Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth: Apostle of Faith* (Madison: Gospel Publishing House, 1948).

<sup>142</sup> Burton, letter to James and Alice Salter, 30/11/1933. Another advantage of *CEMR* is given later on by Burton. Each church could be encouraged to have *CEMR* secretaries who distributed not only *CEMR*, but also moneyboxes. Burton writes that he believes ‘there are scores of friends just waiting for such a job who would make first-class hon. secs.’ See: Burton, letter to the Salters, 28/03/1934.

<sup>143</sup> Walter Hawkins, with his wife Hilda, were CEM missionaries from 1944-1960.

<sup>144</sup> Desmond Cartwright, interview with the author, 29/09/2011. Cartwright told me his experience of accessing archives: ‘people panic’ and start ‘worrying you’ve got a file on me; you’d think you were talking about the CIA’.

PMU council members, which will be mentioned especially in the next chapter. Hawkins' daughter gave these letters to Cartwright who in turn gave them to the Donald Gee Centre.<sup>145</sup> I interviewed Hawkins later and he gave his consent for his daughter to give me further archives that had not been given to Cartwright. These also included a file of CEM correspondence (55 letters and telegrams) surrounding the time of the murders of Hodgson and Elton Knauf<sup>146</sup> in 1960. I use this file extensively in chapter six. No one else has yet viewed it.

#### **1.4.6 Jean Brown**

I have built up a connection by email correspondence with Jean Brown, the daughter of Burton's nephew. She has scanned 35 letters from what she refers to as 'Uncle's suitcase'.<sup>147</sup> No one else has ever used those letters. These are at times very moving as Burton writes to his family in a different style to most of his other letters. The letters regarding his wife's illness show Burton's great love for her at a time when she obviously was suffering at the end of her life with a mental illness before her death in 1952.<sup>148</sup> These letters also contain information regarding Burton's own personal finances and the setting up a pension fund for CEM missionaries, which became known as the Raggatt Trust.

#### **1.4.7 Other Letters**

I have, by petitioning, also collected Burton's letters from individuals who have not shown them to other researchers. Roy and Marion Leeming not only passed on to me their own letters from Burton, but also a small file of about a dozen letters of correspondence between Burton and Lillie, as mentioned above. James Atkinson, the son of George Atkinson mentioned above, passed on to me several letters from Burton to his parents and also to himself.

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<sup>145</sup> Cartwright, interview.

<sup>146</sup> CEM missionary from 1944-1960.

<sup>147</sup> Jean Brown is the daughter of Owen (Burton's nephew) and May Saunders. Owen's name figures from time to time in the narrative. Owen went out as a missionary with the CEM in 1928 and preached and built a few churches, but had to return within a year as 'he had a sense of responsibility towards his mother and her 3 deaf children'. When his daughter Jean felt called to go to Congo herself, Saunders became 'highly upset' and told her she had 'no idea what she was thinking of'. Saunders 'looked upon Burton with a son's love and devotion and the love was mutual'. Jean Brown, email message to the author, 03/03/2016.

<sup>148</sup> Letters from 1950 refer to Hettie hitting Burton with a stick and being full of vindictive comments and then forgetting what she had said or done. Burton would read to her trying to take her mind off things. See: Burton, letter to Owen and May Saunders, 23/03/1952.

My own father kept a handful of letters between himself and Burton. As the member of the HRC responsible for CEM publicity he also had various reel-to-reel recordings, numerous photographs and three sets of magic lantern slides (as well as movie films) narrating CEM history. As the one reel-to-reel recording (nearly sixty minutes long) was recorded by Burton in 1967, it proves to be a useful source. No researcher has used this before. I also have access to my father's diaries, which Garrard cites in his 1983 thesis.

Congolese sources have not generally kept letters. One exception is Ilunga Kazembe<sup>149</sup> who remembers Burton's early years at Mwanza. He passed on to me a letter Burton had written to Otaniele Beseka<sup>150</sup> and Piele Masokoyti from South Africa in 1969.<sup>151</sup>

#### 1.4.8 Burton's Books

Burton's extensive writing enables a greater understanding of his thinking. In 1934 he describes the *raison d'être* for his books, 'They were conceived and written in prayer, and already letters are coming in to say how they are stirring up prayer, and enabling folk to understand our problems better'.<sup>152</sup> Books being written that promoted prayer support was the main motivation expressed here.<sup>153</sup> There are however, other genres, such as his ethnographical writings; *Luba Religion in Magic, Custom and Belief*,<sup>154</sup> which was used as 'a text-book for Bantu Philosophy in Congo universities'.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Station pastor at Mwanza.

<sup>150</sup> I am not proud of this, but I can remember as a ten-year-old boy, giving up my bedroom for Beseka when he visited the UK. When alone with him, I showed him how electric lights worked as if he had never seen them before. I mention this as it does show the perception of the Congolese in the 1960s from a supporting CEM family. My memory is of Beseka graciously humouring me. (My father smiled too.)

<sup>151</sup> Burton, letter to Otaniele Beseka and Piele Masokoyti, 23/05/1969. These two Congolese Pentecostals figure later. They represented Congolese leaders after Independence when seeing Burton.

<sup>152</sup> Burton, letter to 'My precious Brother and Sister in Christ', 28/02/1934. (From the context of the rest of the letter, this probably was written to Philip and Edith Myerscough.)

<sup>153</sup> However, Burton did receive some personal income from his books. In 1939 Pickering and Inglis sent him a cheque for nine pounds for his *How They Live in Congoland*. See: Burton, letter to Salter, 02/05/1939. According to one inflation calculator, this would be worth over four hundred pounds at today's date: see: [http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html#calculator](http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator), accessed 04/08/2015. I do not believe finance was a motivation in his writing.

<sup>154</sup> W.F.P.Burton, *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief* (Tervuren: Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961).

<sup>155</sup> *CEMR* 412/13 (March-April 1971): 11.



Burton's contribution to Pentecostal historiography extended beyond that of his own mission. In 1936 he wrote about the work of Edgar Mahon, again in South Africa.<sup>156</sup> In 1954 he had visited the AOG Kalembelembe field. This inspired him in 1968, aged 81, to write a biography on the life of Rosalie Hegi.<sup>157</sup> He wrote that for Swiss German speakers, not believing there would be 'much demand for an English edition'.<sup>158</sup> However, after Burton died AOG hurriedly printed five thousand copies of an English edition in time to sell at their 1971 General conference.<sup>159</sup>

In 1933 Burton, ever keen to record history, wrote *God Working With Them*, an account of the first 'eighteen years of Congo Evangelistic Mission History'. He saw it as 'just a continuance of the Acts of the Apostles'.<sup>160</sup> This is a useful source for the Burton story. Burton wrote a biography on Elias Letwaba and his work in South Africa in 1934, stating in the foreword how Letwaba 'is standing true today, to the Pentecostal ideal'.<sup>161</sup> Around 1946 Burton wrote a sixteen-page booklet, *God's Sent Ones*. He defines the missionary task concluding, ' [...] it is only reasonable to put all we can into others, that they may still carry on the work when we have gone'.<sup>162</sup>

#### 1.4.9 Photography and Paintings

There is evidence of photographs taken by Burton provoking interest in the mission and even contributing to the recruitment of new missionaries from very early days.<sup>163</sup> Burton had written to Salter saying he believed that those who did 'not have much time for reading [...] [would] like to look through the pictures, and will be drawn out in prayer by them'.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *When God Makes a Missionary: (Being the Life Story of Edgar Mahon)* (London: Victory Press, 1936). Mahon left the Salvation Army after receiving healing and worked independently in South Africa, mainly in black townships. See: Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 418.

<sup>157</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *Rosalie Hegi: Winning the Wild Wabembe to Christ* (Nottingham: AOG, 1971), iv.

<sup>158</sup> Burton, letter to Womersley, 23/02/1968. Burton explains to Womersley how the money he received for his ministry in Switzerland in 1967 would finance the printing of that book.

<sup>159</sup> OMC minutes 432:4b., 04-05/03/1971.

<sup>160</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *God Working with Them: being Eighteen Years of Congo Evangelistic Mission History* (London: Victory Press, 1933), vii.

<sup>161</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor* (London: Victory Press, 1934), ix. Emphasis mine.

<sup>162</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *God's Sent Ones: A Bible Study on the Missionary and His Work* (Luton: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1946), 16.

<sup>163</sup> Womersley, who eventually went out as a missionary in 1924, recalls seeing photos of the early converts in Preston in 1918. See: Harold Womersley, *Congo Miracle: Fifty Years of God's Working in Congo* (Eastbourne: Victory Press, 1974), 29.

<sup>164</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 29/05/1923.

Individual sponsors of building projects deserved to have good ‘snaps’ of the finished buildings. Mr and Mrs Wesley Reed received a photo of ‘the Taylor’s chapel’,<sup>165</sup> one assumes they must have given generously as that chapel was referred to as ‘the best’. Burton expected his fellow missionaries to take good ‘snaps’ too. Burton had ‘twice even sent Mr Hodgson a film pack to get “snaps of chapels”’, Hodgson had built several, ‘but alas “they did not turn out to be a success”’.<sup>166</sup>

Burton’s personal attention to detail with regard to publicity lasted all his life. Just over a year before he died he wrote to John Emmett,<sup>167</sup> ‘I cannot tell you how more than shocked I am at the shocking caricature the professional advertisers have made of my posters [...] I will paint something to paste over them when I visit Birmingham on June 13 to 16’.<sup>168</sup> This assiduous approach to photography and audiovisual publicity means that for a missionary society, there is an atypical amount of visual material in *CEMR* and in mission archives enriching historiographical writing.

In 1967, Burton was writing about producing with the Ramsbottoms<sup>169</sup> ‘a lecture’ with an accompanying set of magic lantern slides.<sup>170</sup> Burton did produce this piece; it lasts 54 minutes. It is easily apparent when the slide needs changing, as the beating of a Congo drum on the recording is the signal for changing the slide.<sup>171</sup>

If, as a Pentecostal, Burton used ‘the tools of modernity’, he also used a more conventional means of portraying the Congolese environment in which the CEM operated. Painting was something his mother had encouraged him in and he in turn encouraged others to paint.

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<sup>165</sup> Cyril Taylor is mentioned above.

<sup>166</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 17/04/1930.

<sup>167</sup> My father would set up a CEM exhibition at AOG conferences; I have memories one year of helping carry in bales of straw for making a thatch roof for a mock African hut with Fred Ramsbottom and my father. Conference delegates could sit inside and watch a magic lantern slide show with commentary, all on a loop, about the CEM work and then talk to my father or whoever else was there on duty. I know at least David and Julie Gaze were ‘recruited’ through this after seeing a poster stating teachers were needed; they went on to work with the CEM from 1968-2010.

<sup>168</sup> Burton, letter to John Emmett, 18/05/1970. He also added, ‘You are to be very highly commended for the excellent show that you have contrived’. See also his handwritten letter to James Atkinson, 19/10/1965, in which he tells how the first five thousand copies of his book *Gospel Nuggets* were very badly printed so he was ‘getting another 5000 done [...] with illustrated [...] pen & ink sketches to make them more attractive’.

<sup>169</sup> Fred and Isabel Ramsbottom were CEM missionaries from 1934-1970.

<sup>170</sup> Burton, letter to John Emmett, 08/06/1967.

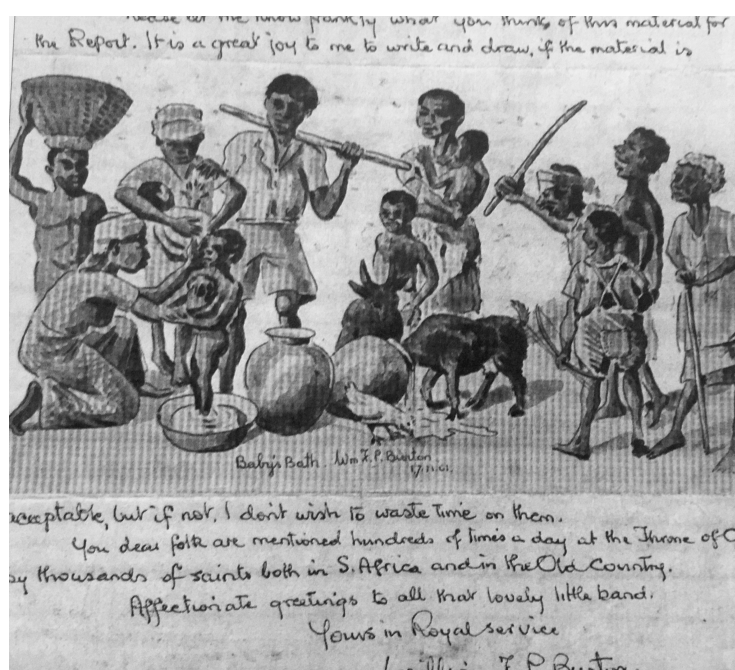
<sup>171</sup> I know as I once ‘helped’ my father changing the slide each time the drum beat.

Hawkins, when 95, was still painting Congo scenes. He told me about the time Burton first looked at his photography and immediately told him he needed to paint.<sup>172</sup>

After Independence Burton, in South Africa, continued to contribute sketches for the *CEMR*. He sent sketches in letters to David Womersley that were 'exactly the right width to go right across the page, so that it can be used either inside or on the cover'.<sup>173</sup>

Figure 3

Burton's sketch, 'Baby's Bath' for *CEMR*



<sup>172</sup> Hawkins, interview, 13/12/2012. Not all CEM missionaries enthused as much about Burton's love of painting. Ramsbottom was once travelling with Burton and experiencing difficulty with the universal joint on the transmission shaft of the vehicle they were travelling in. They had to keep stopping and tie it together. Ramsbottom describes how Burton, in spite of their lateness, made him suddenly stop the car as the Lomami River came into view. Burton then pulled out 'his little box of paints from his pocket'. Ramsbottom writes that when Burton saw the look on Ramsbottom's face, Burton said to him, 'Fred, don't you see the blues, the purples and the gold in the setting sun?' Ramsbottom writes, 'I looked and the only thing I saw was red!' Ramsbottom then adds how some days later, Burton called him into his room and presented him with the painting putting his arm round his shoulders, Burton said, 'Fred the other day you were so tied up within yourself that you could not see the beauty that was before your eyes'. See: *CEMR* 412/13 (March-April 1971): 14. This story was one Ramsbottom told repeatedly (I heard it more than once) in his church visitation work in the UK.

<sup>173</sup> Burton, letter to David Womersley, 29/11/1961. He added, 'It is a great joy to me to write and draw, if the material is acceptable, but if not, I don't wish to waste time on them'. They must have been 'acceptable' as there is a similar sketch printed a year later in *CEMR*. See: *CEMR* 302 (January 1962): 5.

Burton's skill in sketching boosted readership of the *CEMR*. David Womersley tried to take Burton's sketches off the front cover of *CEMR*, but conceded in January 1970 that *CEMR* readers had complained that *CEMR* was simply 'not Congo without one of Mr Burton's sketches'.<sup>174</sup>

Burton unashamedly used his artistic skills to promote financial giving.<sup>175</sup> Towards the end of his life Burton sold prints of his paintings to raise finance for himself and the CEM. He paid five hundred pounds in 1968 for fifty thousand greetings cards to be printed from ten of his paintings, five thousand of each one. He sent half of them to Preston to be sold for the CEM.<sup>176</sup>

#### 1.4.10 Oral Sources

I interviewed oral sources in the UK and on at least a dozen visits to Congo I have made while conducting this research between 2011-2016. This has enabled me to be 'digging further in the quest for more primary sources'.<sup>177</sup> The contribution, especially from Congolese oral sources, has been immense. Names not found in *CEMR* or elsewhere in missionary writing can come up. Kazembe and Yumba Makuba<sup>178</sup> both talk of Shakatela as being 'a great preacher' in the early days alongside Shalumbo and Ngoloma,<sup>179</sup> yet no mention is made of him in any missionary writing apart from his name being listed by Garrard in his thesis.<sup>180</sup>

Burton wrote in 1949 about the accuracy of Congolese oral sources. He had taught '170 lads' in less than four minutes the entire first Psalm. He praised them for their 'prodigious' oral literature and its accuracy. (This was in an article passionately telling *CEMR* readers 'to

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<sup>174</sup> *CEMR* 398 (January 1970): 14.

<sup>175</sup> At a time when CEM supporters seemed to be sponsoring the building of 'chapels' in Congo, Burton sent a 'water colour sketch of the chapel at Nkulu-a-Maninga' to a Mrs Sonte, and said she could be told that her 'money was enough to also erect one evangelist's house beside the chapel'. See: Burton, letter to Salter, 17/04/1930.

<sup>176</sup> Burton, letter to Womersley, 23/02/1968.

<sup>177</sup> van der Laan, 'Historical Approaches,' 210. van der Laan is here referring to what I have already mentioned above, 'correspondence of missionaries not written for publication and minutes of missionary board meetings'.

<sup>178</sup> I have mentioned Kazembe before, Yakumba Makuba is the pastor of the church in Luamba, Katanga.

<sup>179</sup> Kazembe and Makuba, interview with the author, 20/07/2014.

<sup>180</sup> Garrard, 'History,' 115. This is a list of 34 names of ex-slaves who became active in evangelism in the CEM area.

never again permit that lie about Noah's curse on the black races to go unchallenged'.<sup>181</sup>

Such memorising of detail meant that Congolese boys would register:

almost every tree they pass, so that, in referring to some incident, they will say, 'It occurred near that big, curved umbanga tree, just past the giant umpumpa with the rotten branch'. It may have been passed a dozen miles back, but it is recalled without effort.<sup>182</sup>

Elsewhere Burton comments on the *balute*, within Luban culture. These were 'men of memory' who could go back over 'two or three centuries of Luban history'. Burton compared narratives given with a month's travelling distance apart and found 'how remarkably the historians agree, and how accurate are the memories of these old men' relying totally on oral records.<sup>183</sup> Even if there are no written archival sources, there is a rich 'oral literature'.<sup>184</sup> However, there is a difference between the history of the pre-colonial past, which, when formally transmitted forms a canon of history, and the reminiscences that certain individuals hold and are willing to transmit.<sup>185</sup> In this thesis, I use both oral tradition, (for example when someone re-tells a story passed down to them third hand) and oral sources (when someone tells of what they personally witnessed or were personally told).

In conducting biographical research on Burton, and especially his work in Congo, I have purposefully endeavoured to use Congolese oral sources. To rely on written sources alone would be to maintain 'the elitism of historiography'.<sup>186</sup> There are a very limited number still alive who knew Burton and the Congolese agency that was close to him, such as Shalumbo. There have been sufficient sources however, to line up accounts and triangulate them for

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<sup>181</sup> CEMR 146 (January 1949): 1431-1432. Burton adds here that such a lie is 'unworthy of our gracious God, and a blot on the white man's escutcheon'. For more on the curse of Ham, see: David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2003).

<sup>182</sup> CEMR 146 (January 1949): 1432.

<sup>183</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *The Magic Drum: Tales from Central Africa* (London: Methuen, 1961), 10.

<sup>184</sup> Burton, *Luba Religion*, 8.

<sup>185</sup> Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Oxford: Curry, 1985), 19-20. Vansina makes a clear distinction between these two. Oral tradition involves 'reported statement-that is, sources which have been transmitted from one person to another through the medium of language [...] [oral tradition] exclusively consist[s] of hearsay accounts [...] testimonies that narrate an event that has not been witnessed [...] but which he has learnt about through hearsay'. Vansina also defines rumours as distinct from oral tradition. He avers rumours, are those again speaking as oral sources, which speak about the present person to person. Vansina also writes of eyewitness accounts.

<sup>186</sup> Terence Ranger, 'Personal Reminiscence and the Experience of the People in East Central Africa,' *Oral History*, 6:1 (Spring 1978): 45.

consistencies, not only interrogating ‘the native’s point of view’,<sup>187</sup> but also using the latter to interrogate written and oral missionary sources.

While all sources in this research have been treated with hermeneutic suspicion, some have to be discounted as stretching credibility, or proving to be factually unreliable. Nevertheless, even dubious evidence from sources can be examined and interpreted. For example, the adulatory ‘appreciation’ of Burton, who left Mwanza in 1959, can be seen in the hyperbolic reminiscences of an elderly woman, Yumba Blandine, Beseka’s daughter.<sup>188</sup> Blandine claimed while Burton lived at Mwanza, lions were tame and snakes did not bite. She claimed this was not true after Burton left.<sup>189</sup> It is known that people ‘typically exaggerate the intensity of past emotions, remembering a pleasant vacation as more enjoyable than it actually was’.<sup>190</sup> Blandine’s obvious hype can be interpreted as an appreciation for Burton and a lifestyle at a time when the Belgian Congo was ‘the most industrialized’ and one of the most affluent countries in Africa, vis-à-vis the day she was interviewed when the UN listed the Democratic Republic of Congo as the poorest nation on earth.<sup>191</sup>

I mention biographical details of each oral source throughout the thesis in footnotes. I mention here that Claude Kapenga, a former pupil of mine at Kipushya, and grandson of Shalumbo,<sup>192</sup> has also interviewed different sources on my behalf and I make it clear where that has been the case.

### 1.5 The Value of Burton’s Letters

This thesis uses all the above as its methodology. Burton’s letters are especially useful for understanding Burton; ‘the letters tell the story far more than the minute books’.<sup>193</sup> Burton was a prolific letter writer and when reading his correspondence it becomes clear that there

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<sup>187</sup> Thomas Schwandt, *The Sage Dictionary of Qualitative Enquiry: Third Edition* (London: Sage Publications), 205. This is a methodological approach to ethnography that emerged in the 1920s that contrasted with earlier approaches allowing missionaries, government official and traders to be the sole interpreters of data for ethnographical understanding.

<sup>188</sup> Otaniele Beseka (mentioned earlier) was the station pastor in charge of the Mwanza station when Burton left Mwanza for the last time.

<sup>189</sup> Yumba Blandine, interviewed by Claude Kapenga in Lubumbashi, 16/08/2015.

<sup>190</sup> C. Lench, and L. Levine, ‘Motivational biases in memory for emotions’, *Cognition and Emotion*, 24:3 (2010): 401.

<sup>191</sup> ‘The Poorest Country in the World: The Democratic Republic of Congo,’ *The Borgen Project*: accessed 18/08/2015, <http://borgenproject.org/poorest-country-world-democratic-republic-congo/>

<sup>192</sup> Claude Kapenga is the son of Shalumbo’s youngest daughter, Ngoie Mauwa.

<sup>193</sup> Cartwright, interview.

are not only different styles of writing for different audiences, but different levels of openness. There are circular letters, where he writes to supporters of the work in Congo. These letters clearly aim to appreciate their giving and make them realise their benevolence is fruitful in terms of the success of supported Congolese agency. To a select few, Burton expresses profounder feelings. This is particularly true of his writing to James and Alice Salter and Myerscough. Some of his letters to these three can be very business-like, but at times he displays his emotions. He writes to these three about things that he expressly does not want printing in reports.<sup>194</sup>

In some letters Burton simply puts a heading on the left hand side of the page, 'PRIVATE AND PERSONAL'.<sup>195</sup> In letters to his nephew Burton leaks insights that add texture to his life story that are not mentioned elsewhere. For example he 'used to play outside left in the Reigate Priory Soccer team', but as it led him into public houses and 'swearing and godless company' he therefore 'chucked it up'.<sup>196</sup>

## 1.6 Preserving Archives

Early Pentecostals were not generally interested in saving materials for the next generation, especially given their conviction that the Lord was about to come back.<sup>197</sup> In the CEM there was unusual attention paid to preserving mission records and what were perceived to be 'important documents'. This can be seen very early on when reading of one of the tasks given to new missionaries arriving at Mwanza in 1924. Womersley and Axel Oman<sup>198</sup> were asked

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<sup>194</sup> For example, in 1930 Burton wrote to Salter that he had 'little doubt' that two CEM single male missionaries had been 'committing adultery with the native Christian girls, smoking etc etc.' He wrote about this incident, 'Please don't whisper this to a soul'. Burton, letter to Salter, 28/07/1930. Emphasis his.

<sup>195</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 17/04/1934. Emphasis his. In another letter Burton writes to Salter asking him not to 'refer to the following in your letters'. He then tells Salter how 'the Dr has now written to say definitely that after examination of the urine etc, it is Bright's Disease'. Burton explains to Salter he has not told Hettie. Such writing gives more than a fascinating insight into the marriage relationship and protective attitude towards his wife, but also of Burton's theory of healing as a Pentecostal. See: Burton, letter to Salter, 18/07/1935. Burton continues to write: 'I believe that by care in food & drink, & above all, by casting all on Him, He will certainly see me through'. The reference to food and drink shows Burton's belief in human responsibility as well as God's supernatural provision. Burton, unlike Salter initially, took quinine as a prophylactic. See how 'independent healing revivalists' made medicine spiritual in Joseph W. Williams, *Spirit Cure: A History of Pentecostal Healing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 81-97.

<sup>196</sup> Burton, letter to Owen Saunders, 08/07/1925. Burton also spiritually advises his nephew, 'We must be on one side of the fence or the other, there's no safer place than being out and out'.

<sup>197</sup> van der Laan, 'Historical Approaches,' 213-214.

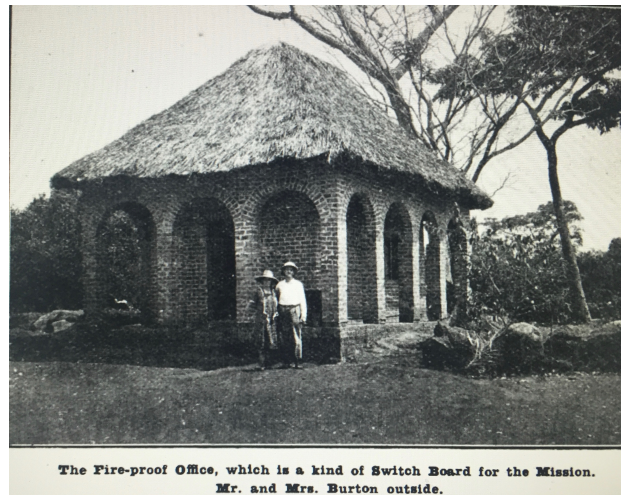
<sup>198</sup> Axel Oman was a CEM missionary from 1924 to 1936.

to build a fireproof store for records.<sup>199</sup> As a researcher, the value of such attitudes has to be appreciated.

Figure 4

The Fire-proof Office at Mwanza

Photo taken from CEMR with permission



### 1.7 Personal Connections

While wanting to avoid the trap of any ‘self-absorption or narcissism’ intruding into this thesis, I do appreciate the need to indicate my own relationship to the study.<sup>200</sup> In writing about Burton, I endeavour to bestride the lines of a personal history of activism within both Congolese and British Pentecostalism with scholarly research. My parents arrived in Congo in 1948. I was born in Katanga province in 1957, but on its most northern perimeter among the Basongye-speaking people. The family returned to the UK in 1959 for a twelve-month furlough, but never returned as post-Independence tensions and subsequent infighting became known as ‘the troubles’.<sup>201</sup> My father, John Emmett, remained active in the CEM, serving on the HRC and organising its exhibitions. Burton, whom I called ‘Uncle Willie’, occasionally visited our family home in Birmingham. Once, he invited me to sit with him while he painted

<sup>199</sup> CEMR 6 (October-December 1924): 50.

<sup>200</sup> Brian Roberts, *Biographical Research* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2002), 13.

<sup>201</sup> For example: CEMR 289 (December 1960): 2; CEMR 290 (January 1961): 18; RT 36:39 (23/09/1960): 14.



a picture in our lounge. His last visit was during June 1970; Burton filled a page in my autograph book with his miniscule notes about the promises of God.<sup>202</sup>

In 1981 I became a CEM missionary in the village of Kipushya.<sup>203</sup> I became headteacher of its pentecostal secondary school in 1983. A school cleaner there, I discovered later, was the widow of Shalumbo, who had been initiated into baptism in the Spirit by Burton in 1920. Shalumbo had preceded Burton in bringing Christianity to the district.<sup>204</sup> I taught several of Shalumbo's grandchildren. I was invited on to the Executive Committee of the *Communauté Pentecôtiste*, which had over one thousand churches in Kasai. I became increasingly concerned that the CEM was not working sufficiently alongside the Congolese church leaders; in 1986 I resigned from the CEM, but continued to work with the Congolese church.<sup>205</sup> Having been based at Kipushya through the rest of the 1980s and as headteacher there I have maintained contact with many Congolese friends and former pupils who have now scattered across Congo. Some of these contacts have either themselves been helpful, such as Shalumbo's son, or helped find sources for this research.

## 1.8 Methods and Approaches to Historiographical Writing

Giving my personal connections is relevant to answer the question as to why I have done this study. Kalu has referred to the analogy of African church history being like a river that is broad but shallow.<sup>206</sup> One reason for writing is an attempt to deepen the waters over the Katanga and Kasai provinces of Congo. This needs to be qualified. The depth added will not be uniform: it must be acknowledged that all histories are written from an interpretative

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<sup>202</sup> Also during that stay, he went into our back garden and showed me how to make a whistle out of a laurel leaf. He then made a crown of laurels and placed it on my head, telling me to run in such way as to get the prize. Using the same crown, he then preached that evening to around five hundred people on the same subject alongside Dominique Kalele, (the Congolese church leader who then led the station my father had pioneered) in the 'Congo Veterans Convention' in Kings Heath, Birmingham; see: *RT* 46:22 (28/05/1970): 14; *RT* 46:30 (23/07/1970): 11; this was organised by my father, and according to *RT* over five hundred attended. John Emmett referred to this when speaking at the joint memorial service to Burton and Howard Carter; see: Memorial.

<sup>203</sup> Kipushya is a small village in what is now called Kasai Oriental, over 200 kms by road to the now large city (4 million population) of Mbuji-Mayi.

<sup>204</sup> A chapter of this thesis examines his life and his relationship with Burton.

<sup>205</sup> I moved into believing this given the CEM Field Council's hostile reaction to my liaising with Congolese leaders in Kasai over receiving gifts from UK charities without going through the missionary field council first. Also, I had, in conjunction with the Congolese leaders, recruited a missionary for Kipushya, who later became my wife, without asking the CEM where she should be stationed. I was the first Westerner to work with this group of churches and not be in the CEM or be an associate of the CEM.

<sup>206</sup> Ogbu Kalu, 'Introduction: The Shape and Flow of African Christian Historiography,' in Ogbu U. Kalu (ed.), *African Christianity: An African Story* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 2005), 2.

perspective.<sup>207</sup> Kalu discusses the patterns of Christian historiography in Africa; the personal connections and approaches of authors do influence how they write. Kalu distinguishes some different approaches to African church historiography.

Kalu laments ‘the institutional approach’ with its concomitant support of denominationalism.<sup>208</sup> The history begins with the missionary arriving who ‘sets up shop and builds a congregation and a church’. The origin of the institution can be dated from when the missionary arrived, further, with this approach it is impossible to consider Christianity as being indigenous to Africa.<sup>209</sup> This method wrongly asserts that God is a stranger to Africa and is introduced by western missionaries. By blamably ignoring such facts as Jesus being a refugee in Africa, but never stepping foot in Europe,<sup>210</sup> this approach has spawned two ‘nationalist historiographies’. The one type overtly ‘attacks missionary incursion and dubs missionaries as pathfinders and handmaids to imperialists’.<sup>211</sup> The second type ‘sings for the unsung’ local agents who bore the brunt of the missionary work. Kalu argues these local agents had to do this given the challenges facing missionaries of language-learning, health issues and the inconsistent levels of support.<sup>212</sup>

Such emphasis on local agency, Kalu asserts, is a corrective to ‘mission hagiography’. Kalu sees both the overtly institutional approach and mission hagiography as often ‘triumphalist and disdainful of indigenous non-European cultures’.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Kalu, ‘Introduction,’ 11.

<sup>208</sup> Kalu, ‘Introduction,’ 14. He adds here that the denominational approach lends itself to Africans seeing themselves as the ‘products of warring confessional groups in Europe’.

<sup>209</sup> Ogbu Kalu, ‘African Church Historiography: An Ecumenical Perspective,’ *Encounter* 50.1 (Winter 1989): 72.

<sup>210</sup> Kalu, ‘African Church,’ 78. Detailed analysis of Kalu’s ‘claim of continuity’ is outside the scope of this writing, see: Paul Kollman ‘Classifying African Christianities: Past, Present, and Future: Part One,’ *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40 (2010): 15-18.

<sup>211</sup> Kalu, ‘African Church,’ 72.

<sup>212</sup> Kalu, ‘African Church,’ 73. Kalu lists here some of the church historians who have ‘reconstructed the role of native agents’. He lists: ‘Ajayi, Ayandele, Isichei, Ekechi (Nigeria), Jenkins, Tufuoh, Der, Odmatten (Ghana), Shyllon, Herskovitz (Sierra Leone), Temu and Nthamburi (Kenya), Tuma and Waliggo (Uganda), Ranger (Central Africa)’.

<sup>213</sup> Kalu, ‘Introduction,’ 15. Kalu continues his discussion on methodologies by referring to the ‘Ecumenical Perspective’. See: 75-77. About this he states that church history, for Africans, is ‘not the story of what missionaries did or did not do’ but sees it as a ‘perspective from below’ where ‘God’s creation, lordship and rulership [is] over [...] the whole inhabited earth’. Although not giving it the same title, David Maxwell discusses other writers who have written from the perspective of distinguishing between mission history and African church history. See: David Maxwell, ‘Writing the History of African Christianity: Reflections of an Editor,’ *Journal of Religion in Africa* 36:3-4 (11/03/06): 379-399.

The methodological approaches outlined here show how, even in the briefest summary of this theoretical discussion, reactions to reactions are evident. It will become clear that this study follows neither an institutional nor a hagiographical approach. However, neither does it follow a method of dubbing all missionaries as sharing the aspirations of colonials. It will be seen though, that there are many shades of grey in the following chapters where this study scrutinizes missionary relationships with local agency. It examines this through the lens of Burton's desire to see Spirit-filled Congolese lead a Congolese church. The study will also show how Burton equivocated sufficiently to give space for complicating forces to muddy the waters of his spiritual ideal.

## 1.9 An Overview

Chapter two examines Burton's atypical family background (for a Pentecostal) and how from his mid-twenties<sup>214</sup> he was greatly frustrated in the pursuit of his missionary ideals. It argues his idealism led to frustration inciting him to play a provocative role towards key leaders in the opening scenes of the British pentecostal movement, especially towards Alexander Boddy, 'widely acknowledged as the key leader'.<sup>215</sup>

Chapter three examines Burton's initial independence from organised British Pentecostalism. Contextualising Burton's embracing of indigenisation, it examines his admiration for local agency in South Africa. This is in contrast with his frustration over the PM, which he used to gain entry to Congo, but whose leaders exasperated him over several years delaying the start the CEM. Realising the need of UK support for the CEM, Burton experienced frustration with the 'preliminary steps' of establishing the British AOG.<sup>216</sup>

Chapters four and five each mainly examine a different local agent who worked with Burton. These chapters argue that local agency was treasured so much by Burton that by 1929, a 'move on' was possible.<sup>217</sup> They argue that indigenisation was cryogenically and frustratingly held back by colonial restraints, and also a perceived lack of leadership training all within a context of Roman Catholic opposition.

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<sup>214</sup> The outline of the decades in Burton's life in this summary is approximate so as to give the broadest outline of Burton's life. A timeline of Burton's life is in appendix one.

<sup>215</sup> Wakefield, *Boddy*, xiii.

<sup>216</sup> Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Croydon: Heath, 1967), 126.

<sup>217</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

Chapter six examines Burton's belief in the readiness of local agency to lead after Independence and concomitant desire for the CEM to close. It argues Burton's ebbing authority and the murders of two missionaries galvanised a divergent vision for perpetual western missionary involvement in Congo. It contends Burton, initially frustrated, found a new outlet for his idealism in supporting the emerging UK restoration movement.

### **1.10 Conclusion: The Significance of this Study**

Digging beneath superficial hagiography, this thesis examines how Burton particularly exemplifies how covert frustrations can accompany the overt idealism embedded within the pentecostal message. This manifests initially in his interactions with a council of men (the PMU) intent on helping newly-formed and small British pentecostal assemblies organise to send missionaries across the world and, later, onto the main stage of his operations, in Congo. The latter took place principally in the southeastern Katanga province, among the Baluba people, but also because the CEM spread to the bordering Kasai<sup>218</sup> province, among the Basongye people. This research originally uncovers post-Independence division between Burton and his missionaries that left Burton eventually frustrated regarding his ideal on indigenisation.

I therefore endeavour to examine Burton within 'the bigger picture and to evaluate all the factors that go into the decision-making of the historical actors' in the theatre of his life.<sup>219</sup> This thesis does not have space to examine 'all the factors' in detail, such as those of the political world of Belgian colonialism and the imposition it placed upon protestant missions,<sup>220</sup> the background of two world wars during his lifetime, the fear of communism during the Cold War,<sup>221</sup> and the politics surrounding Congolese Independence. This thesis debuts Burton on the stage of academic biographies by examining certain chapters in his life. Two supporting Congolese actors figure prominently, but the cast also includes members of the PMU, CEM and other missions. This thesis shows that Burton performed a significant role in

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<sup>218</sup> Burton's referencing the Kasai would mean what is now called Eastern Kasai province, but in Burton's time until the end of 1966, both Eastern Kasai and Western Kasai provinces were one province, Kasai, one of the six colonial provinces. I will throughout this thesis use Kasai to keep with Burton's referencing, but more specifically talk of the area of Kasai occupied by the Basongye people, especially the Bekalebwe sub-group. In 1958, Burton, aged 72 had to be dissuaded from opening a mission station in Kabinda, in the heart of the Basongye, by his fellow missionaries; David Womersley, interview with the author, 02/02/12.

<sup>219</sup> Kay, *Pentecostalism*, 17-18.

<sup>220</sup> Garrard, 'History,' and Ruth Slade, *English-speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908)* (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1959).

<sup>221</sup> David Womersley, letter to Burton, 14/10/1964. This missionary writes to Burton, 'a communist backed regime could close the door to missionary work'.

the drama of British Pentecostalism from its early days and contributed to the convolution of its plot through his unyielding determinism and resilience in the inchoate pentecostal groupings. He also, and more famously through hagiographical writing, had rave reviews for his seminal role in the theatrical planting of Congolese Pentecostalism. Very little has been written about the former, and virtually only hagiographical accounts about the latter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EMERGING AS A PENTECOSTAL (1886-1914)

#### Introduction

When examining African church historiography from an African perspective rather than from a purely missionary evaluation, there is an observable ‘leap forward’ in the 1960s described by Adrian Hastings as ‘rapid and exhilarating’; instead of writing about Europeans in Africa, historians ostensibly wrote about African history. Hastings avers that ‘in retrospect [...] it may seem obvious that each required the other’. He adds ‘African church history cannot be written without a great deal of careful missionary history’.<sup>1</sup> This thesis exemplifies such an approach, which necessitates the writing of this chapter. Before examining Burton’s role in the spreading of Pentecostalism, Burton’s own embracing of it needs to be outlined.

Burton himself was indubitably committed to the ideal of the Congolese indigenous church, but it was difficult for him to think of Pentecostalism, or indeed Christianity, without the attendant cultural and ritualistic accretions of his own past experience. While this thesis aims to restore as much as possible the role played by the Congolese, an examination of Burton’s pre-Congo history is not only relevant to adding knowledge to Burton’s life story, but more pertinently, and incontrovertibly, to appreciating his attitude to launching Pentecostalism in Congo. The two are incontestably intertwined. So this chapter, although focusing on Burton before he ever reached Congo, is of import in order to comprehend the broader narrative of Burton’s pioneering role in establishing Congolese Pentecostalism through local agency.

The paucity of material, especially for Burton’s early and determining years, has to be noted. For whatever reason, little research was carried out while Burton was living and the only notes of an in-depth interview with Burton have been lost.<sup>2</sup> One contemporary Pentecostal volunteered reasons why so little has been written about Burton: maybe, simply because he was a Pentecostal, or that at the time when he could have become the subject for research, the

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<sup>1</sup> Adrian Hastings, ‘African Christian Studies, 1967-1999: Reflections of an Editor,’ *JRA* 30:1 (2000): 31.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, interview with Womersley, recorded notes around 1954. Garrard refers to these in his bibliography as “‘Recorded Notes”, by Womersley at sea between Britain and Cape Town’, c.1954 AZEM Kamina.

prevailing post-colonial atmosphere caused interest in British missionaries to wane considerably.<sup>3</sup>

How did the man born into a privileged family end up manifesting such recalcitrance towards PMU authority figures? Once in Congo, why was he so vibrant about seeking to empower Congolese agency, within a colonial context, to establish Pentecostalism? Did his family background and those people he encountered in his pre-Congo years influence his thinking towards the Congolese? How did he maintain his idealism in the face of rejection from the only people who seemed able to empower him to reach Africa? This chapter will feed into responding to such questions.

## 2.0 Family Background

### 2.0.1 Rushing

Burton, born in Liverpool on March 24<sup>th</sup> 1886, was one of five children.<sup>4</sup> His mother, aged 36,<sup>5</sup> had to be rushed to a nearby hospital for his birth. It would be dubious to say that his mother's rushing shaped Burton's character, yet Womersley is not alone in forming a tenuous link and believing that rushing was something Burton did the rest of his life.<sup>6</sup> Womersley recounts how 'in typical fashion' the Baluba gave Burton a nickname, *Kapamu*, meaning, 'The Rusher Forth'.<sup>7</sup> He later goes on to describe Burton as 'impetuous as Moses'.<sup>8</sup> Frustration, it will be seen, was birthed out of this indelible character trait. Monga Ngoy (Monga), a Muluba<sup>9</sup> living and working in Brussels after gaining a PhD in theology there, was born not far from Mwanza (where Burton was based in Congo) and grew up in Kamina. Monga interprets the name *Kapamu* as meaning impetuous. He reckons Burton displayed all the characteristics of a chief, but was very impetuous in both his preaching and in his

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<sup>3</sup> Paul Alexander, preface in *Into Africa: The Thrilling Story of William Burton and Central African Missions*, ed. David Womersley and David Garrard (Preston: Central African Missions, 2005). Eight months before his death, pentecostal archivist Cartwright believed there was still much work to be done on this; Cartwright, interview.

<sup>4</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 2. His mother said all five were 'bright little arrows to be shot out into the world for His glory'.

<sup>5</sup> Calculated from 1901 Census records.

<sup>6</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 15. However, this translation conflicts with Samuel Ngoy writing in *CEMR* that *Kapamu* means 'the crack shot'; he writes about Burton never missing antelope with his rifle in *CEMR* 412/3 (March/April 1971): 4.

<sup>8</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 27.

<sup>9</sup> Monga has spent most of his life living and working in Brussels, pastoring a church and lecturing in theology. A Muluba is an individual belonging to the Baluba people.

relationships with others.<sup>10</sup> Burton unquestionably embraced this rushing moniker, writing from 1948 onwards numerous articles in *CEMR* under the *nom de plume*, *Kapamu*.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.0.2 Scion of a Notable Family

Womersley points out that the mother of this ‘rusher forth’ was of Marlborough House and notes the aptness of the family crest, depicting a greyhound.<sup>12</sup> In 1905, this nineteen-year-old offspring from a distinguished family idealistically manifested his impulsiveness as a new Christian. He read in Mark 16, ‘These signs shall follow them who believe in my name: they shall lay hands on the sick’. Burton states he ‘had never heard of divine healing’. His mother ‘had been an invalid for fourteen years’ after having been ‘poisoned by a gas from a drain’. She had received treatment from ‘some of the finest doctors in Britain’, which was soaking up his father’s ‘well paid’ income. After reading Mark 16, Burton rushed in and laid hands on his mother and prayed, ‘In the name of Jesus’. Two weeks later the family doctor was called in and was amazed at the progress. Burton recounts how his mother’s hair, which she had lost, grew back and ‘she even played tennis again’. The story shows an impetuous and idealistic approach to biblical hermeneutics, well before his baptism in the Spirit. It also, given the palpable level of medical care his mother must have received, reveals the privileged background from which he came. Note, he described his father as being ‘a well-paid man’;<sup>13</sup> but who was also often absent at sea. His father was commodore of the Cunard fleet and was at home for only four to six weeks a year.<sup>14</sup> From the age of five until nineteen years old Burton referred to his mother as being ‘an invalid’.<sup>15</sup> There is no record of his expressing any frustration over this, yet it is demanding to imagine he never felt it.

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<sup>10</sup> Monga Ngoy, interview with the author, 17/11/2011, Brussels. Monga recalls when, as a young boy, he saw Burton give feedback to trainee evangelists practising their preaching before him. He recounts how Burton would either say, ‘That’s really well said, just what I wanted to hear’, or in an abrupt way simply say, ‘Sit down’. Monga also states that the Baluba never called him Burton, being unable to pronounce the ‘r’, so for ease of pronunciation called him either *Bochini* or *Kapamu*; *Bochini* is a Luban-isation of Burton.

<sup>11</sup> This did not start until October 1948 when the first article written by *Kapamu* appeared: see: *CEMR*, 143 (October 1948): 1383. There is no explanation that this is a *nom de plume*. He uses the name immediately again to write articles in the next two issues, *CEMR* 144 (November 1948) 1385 and *CEMR* 145 (December 1948): 1420.

<sup>12</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 22. Jean Brown, Burton’s niece currently living in South Africa, wrote to me saying that she has a family tree tracing his lineage back to Edward 1 and William Wykeham. Jean Brown, email message to the author, 19/11/2015.

<sup>13</sup> W.F.P. Burton, ‘Testimony of an Apostle’, audio recording, 1965. J.Emmett archives, Birmingham, UK.

<sup>14</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 119; Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 22.

<sup>15</sup> Burton, ‘Testimony of an Apostle’.



Before her healing, Burton's mother's influence on his life is something he nevertheless wrote about. He remembered Sundays when the servants would be given a free day to attend a place of worship, but over a cold meal his mother would have the five children go through the alphabet reciting Bible verses beginning with each letter.<sup>16</sup> Burton remembers, as soon as he could spell, deciphering the words on the sitting room wall, 'SURELY I COME QUICKLY' and in red letters below, 'PERHAPS TODAY'.<sup>17</sup>

As well as in having servants, the better-than-average wealth of the family is also seen in Burton studying at a public school in Ramsgate, Kent before going on to study at Redhill Technical College. His grandfather had been 'a Colonel in the Indian army' and had preached to slaves in America as well as playing an important role in establishing an 'Open Brethren' assembly near the White House.<sup>18</sup> An uncle had been 'used in establishing Brethren assemblies in Switzerland' and an aunt had been a missionary with the China Inland Mission (CIM) for twenty years 'and barely escaped with her life during the Boxer Riots of 1900'.<sup>19</sup> Another aunt, Frederica Edith Padwick, gave Burton a leather-bound Newberry Bible on his twenty-first birthday. She died in Reigate, near Burton's family home, aged 45, five months later.<sup>20</sup> She left an estate of £2735,<sup>21</sup> worth nearly three hundred thousand pounds in today's terms.<sup>22</sup> Burton kept that Bible all his life, writing miniscule handwritten notes throughout. This is another accumulation of childhood and young-adult life inspirations remaining with him. 'Edith' wrote amongst other things on the flyleaf, "Go Forward" Exodus 14:15'. Burton wrote two notes about this verse in the margin of his Bible, one acknowledging it was a text given to him by 'Edith'. The other, in handwriting requiring a magnifying glass to read,

<sup>16</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 119.

<sup>17</sup> Burton, 'The Promised Return of the Lord Jesus,' four pages of typewritten notes, 1959. Again, just as with healing, Burton is grasping doctrine that would become one of the hallmarks of Pentecostalism. In this case the 'personal return and coming again of our Lord Jesus'; see: W.F.P.Burton, 'The Congo Evangelistic Mission Stands for and Teaches' in *God Working*, preliminary page.

<sup>18</sup> Garrard, 'History,' 2. Garrard gets this information from Womersley in a letter he wrote to him in 1982.

<sup>19</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 21-22.

<sup>20</sup> Ancestry.co.uk records: accessed 25/02/2016, [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?gl=allgs&gss=sfs28\\_ms\\_f-2\\_s&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Frederica%20Edith&gsfn\\_x=1&gsln=Padwick&gsln\\_x=1&MSAV=0&cpxt=1&cp=11&catbucket=rstp&uidh=ymh](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?gl=allgs&gss=sfs28_ms_f-2_s&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Frederica%20Edith&gsfn_x=1&gsln=Padwick&gsln_x=1&MSAV=0&cpxt=1&cp=11&catbucket=rstp&uidh=ymh)

<sup>21</sup> Ancestry.co.uk records: accessed 15/02/2016, [http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/1904/31874\\_222950-00097?pid=5170276&backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2f%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fgss%3dangsg%26new%3d1%26rank%3d1%26msT%3d1%26gsfn%3dFrederica%2bEdith%26gsfn\\_x%3d1%26gsln%3dPadwick%26gsln\\_x%3d1%26MSAV%3d0%26cpxt%3d1%26cp%3d11%26catbucket%3drstp%26uidh%3dymh%26pcat%3dROOT\\_CATEGORY%26h%3d5170276%26db%3dUKProbateCal%26indiv%3d1%26ml\\_rpos%3d4&treeid=&per sonid=&hintid=&usePUB=true](http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/1904/31874_222950-00097?pid=5170276&backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2f%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fgss%3dangsg%26new%3d1%26rank%3d1%26msT%3d1%26gsfn%3dFrederica%2bEdith%26gsfn_x%3d1%26gsln%3dPadwick%26gsln_x%3d1%26MSAV%3d0%26cpxt%3d1%26cp%3d11%26catbucket%3drstp%26uidh%3dymh%26pcat%3dROOT_CATEGORY%26h%3d5170276%26db%3dUKProbateCal%26indiv%3d1%26ml_rpos%3d4&treeid=&per sonid=&hintid=&usePUB=true)

<sup>22</sup> Historic Inflation Calculator: accessed 25/02/2016, <http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html>

‘Though we can do nothing to help ourselves when God opens up the way, faith can walk therein’.<sup>23</sup> An idealistic faith in God ‘opening the way’ is seen to be frustrated in this chapter.

In 1909, four years after praying for healing for his mother, the manager of the engineering firm where he was employed asked him to go and pray for a woman who was ‘dying of tuberculosis’; he prayed and she was still alive and well in 1965.<sup>24</sup> Again, this long-lasting healing happened before his baptism in the Spirit. Burton’s acknowledgement of divine healing occurring through himself pre-baptism in the Spirit is again mirrored in his Congo ministry. It will be seen later how he was able to encourage Congolese agency to pray for miraculous healings before their baptism in the Spirit. Burton was not baptised in the Spirit until 1910.

As a six-year-old Burton had ‘nursed and entertained’ Thomas L. Johnson, an African American.<sup>25</sup> Johnson had been a slave until 28 years old and on gaining his freedom had become an evangelist spending a few years in Africa.<sup>26</sup> This ‘black man’ who had at first frightened the young Burton, became someone whom Burton stated he came to love, and it caused him to cry when, having recovered from his illness, Johnson left the house. Before leaving, Johnson laid hands on the six-year old and prayed that God would send him to Africa.<sup>27</sup> Johnson had returned from a short spell in Africa after his wife had died and he had been too ill to remain. Johnson was passionate about what he saw as the need for missionaries for Africa and even cited in 1889 in the Afro-American *Mission Herald* the ‘fifty millions (sic) in the Congo Free State who have never heard of my blessed Jesus’.<sup>28</sup> Johnson’s propinquity to Burton the child is echoed in Burton’s adult life with other freed slaves, especially Shalumbo.

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<sup>23</sup> Burton’s Newberry Bible. The inscription at the start is made out to ‘William Frederick Padwick Burton, With Loving Wishes from his Aunt and Godmother Frederica Edith Padwick. March 24<sup>th</sup> 1907’. Matthew 6:33 is written out in full and then the exhortation ‘Whatsoever he saith unto you do it’ and ‘Go Forward. Exodus 14 :15’. Emphasis hers. The Bible has many undated handwritten notes on sheets of paper inserted into it. This aunt’s father had been called William Frederick Padwick and had died in Reigate five years before Burton was born. Burton could well have been named after this uncle.

<sup>24</sup> Burton, ‘Testimony of an Apostle’. Burton told this story to make the point that divine healing lasts.

<sup>25</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 120.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas L Johnson, *Twenty-Eight Years a Slave or the Story of My Life on Three Continents* (London: Christian Workers’ Depot, 1909). Johnson was ill in Africa and his wife died there. He had been offered support to go to Africa by the Young Men’s Christian Association branch in Manchester.

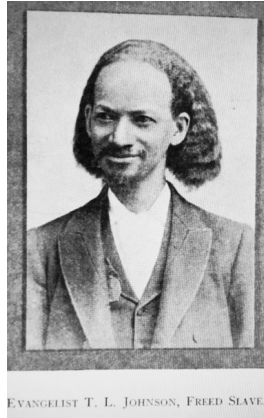
<sup>27</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 120.

<sup>28</sup> Johnson, *Twenty-Eight*, 94. This appeared first in the July 1889 edition of the *Mission Herald*, three years before the time when Burton was a six-year-old nursing him. It is then quoted in *Twenty-Eight*. His reference to Congo Free State follows his estimate of ‘250-300 millions of people in Africa’.

Figure 5

Thomas L. Johnson, freed slave

Used with permission from *Missionary Pioneering*



Burton's family background then was atypical for most Pentecostals of his era. He had family members who were already committed Christians.<sup>29</sup> It was a 'Christian lady' bringing a 'missionary picture book' to the home when he was only 'a wee boy of three or four' that caused him to always say from then on when asked what he would become, 'I'm going to be a missionary.'<sup>30</sup> Burton aged fourteen, visited an uncle in New Zealand who took him to meet a 'godly-old farmer' who laid his hands on Burton's head and prayed for him to preach the gospel, adding he had 'a strong presentiment that it will be in Africa'.<sup>31</sup> All this life-experience could have led Burton to have buoyancy disproportionate to his age and an intuitive understanding of some facets of church and mission, which would not have been possible without this family background.

Theoretical commentators pick up on this. Cartwright believes there was a certain impetuosity about Burton in his early years, but that by the end of his life he had significantly mellowed.<sup>32</sup> Anderson refers to Burton's 'unorthodox and independent ways' being in evidence prior to his going to Congo.<sup>33</sup> Maxwell describes his temperament as 'not entirely

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<sup>29</sup> This included his grandparents, aunts and uncles also, see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 4. His father took him on this journey he was making (as the captain of the ship) to New Zealand.

<sup>32</sup> Cartwright, interview.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 182.

appealing' stating that his 'dramatic conversion and profound experience of the Holy Spirit led to dogmatism and irascibility'.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.1 Burton's Conversion

In spite of the aforementioned strong Brethren links in Burton's wider family, Burton was brought up in an evangelical Anglican church. The aunt who had given him his Bible had also been his godmother. Burton was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He later viewed this confirmation as his being 'confirmed in sin', describing it as 'a meaningless, powerless rite'.<sup>35</sup> Anglicanism had little effect on him; he describes himself aged seventeen starting work as an electrical engineer and 'soon getting into sin and sadness'.<sup>36</sup> Although having always known the way of salvation, he saw himself 'like a fly in a spider's web, enmeshed, struggling, helpless'.<sup>37</sup>

Burton's conversion to Christianity was subsequent to attending the evangelistic services being held in 1905 by R.A.Torrey in London.<sup>38</sup> Cartwright comments how Torrey's reasoned and logical preaching meant Burton would have listened to him. He reckoned he never would have listened to someone like Smith Wigglesworth.<sup>39</sup> What influence Torrey's accompanying singer, Charles Alexander, had on him is not recorded by Burton. Alexander was singing a song at the time that he stated touched the emotions of many men who had or had had praying mothers, 'Tell Mother I'll be there'.<sup>40</sup> Burton definitely remembers Torrey's sermon, which comprised of four tests for false or real religion. It will be seen later that whatever Burton perceived to be false religion was something he was ready to denounce. Burton writes of listening to Torrey's sermon, and praying later in Batley, Yorkshire, 'Please take me to be thy servant'. He then applied three verses he had already learned and knew he was

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<sup>34</sup> David Maxwell, 'The Soul of the Luba: W.F.P.Burton, Missionary Ethnography and Belgian Colonial Science,' *History and Anthropology* 19:4 (December 2008), 328.

<sup>35</sup> W.F.P.Burton, *My Personal Experience of Receiving The Holy Spirit* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God, c.1965), 2.

<sup>36</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 121.

<sup>37</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 25. For an account of the London evangelistic meetings held initially in the Royal Albert Hall from February 1905 and subsequently at other venues, see: J. Kennedy Maclean, *Torrey and Alexander: The Story of their Lives* (London: Partridge & Co, 1905), 122-124.

<sup>39</sup> Cartwright, interview. Although it will be seen later Smith Wigglesworth served the CEM from the 'home end' recruiting and raising funds and vetting prospective missionaries. Elton Knauf who figures in chapter six, was recruited during Smith Wigglesworth's visit to New Zealand with Salter.

<sup>40</sup> Maclean, *Torrey and Alexander*, 121. One of the lines in the song goes, '[...] day and night she prayed to God to keep me in his care: O Savior, tell my mother I'll be there!'. See: 'Tell Mother I'll be There,' accessed 01/03/2016, <http://www.hymntime.com/tch/htm/t/m/i/tmibther.htm>.

‘completely changed 2 Cor.5:17’; further, he writes how he immediately developed ‘an insatiable thirst for God’s Word and would be up by 4am for Scripture study and prayer.’<sup>41</sup>

He states the reasons for his conversion as, ‘godly home influence’ and then adds, suggesting Alexander’s song might have impacted him, ‘A praying mother, and the conversion of an intimate friend [...] also utter despair on the ever freeing myself from certain sins’.<sup>42</sup>

Burton’s mother frequently referred to her desire for him to one day ‘be far off in the wilds’.<sup>43</sup> Her insistence on learning Bible verses had obviously had some effect as can be seen in the biblical detail given in another recording of his own conversion: ‘[...] about August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1905, I knelt in the afternoon by my own bedside in Batley, Yorkshire (where I was working on tramway construction), and claimed the promises in John 1, 12; Rom.10, 13; John 6, 37’.<sup>44</sup> Bible verses for both explaining experience and as support for theological stances were to figure throughout Burton’s life.

Despite this biblical attentiveness to detail, there is a lack of meticulousness about the exact date for his conversion. In his PMU application he records it as ‘about the last week in July’<sup>45</sup> versus ‘about August 3<sup>rd</sup>’. On another two occasions Burton gives the date as 18<sup>th</sup> August.<sup>46</sup> Further, in his own handwritten notes in his personal Bible which he had received from his aunt in 1907, he writes in the margin next to Isaiah 28:17: ‘The text God gave Dr Torrey, about the 1st week in July 05, to show me my position. About a week later I came to Jesus. (about Aug 3<sup>rd</sup>)’.<sup>47</sup>

Wacker highlights the danger in using first-generation sources in pentecostal history; he states historians have a duty to ‘criticise and correct inaccurate, inadequate, or oversimplified versions of the past.’<sup>48</sup> Burton, at least later in his life, made a plea for corrections where he unwittingly expressed things in an inaccurate, inadequate, or oversimplified way. He writes,

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<sup>41</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 2. The three verses are cited below.

<sup>42</sup> Pentecostal Missionary Union, Burton’s Application Form, June 1911, question 18a, Desmond Cartwright, Cardiff, UK.

<sup>43</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 5. Also his mother had given each child a set of scriptures to memorise where the first letter of the first word spelled their names, see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 24a.

<sup>46</sup> W.F.P.Burton, ‘My Personal Testimony,’ audio recording, 1965. J.Emmett archives, Birmingham, UK;

W.F.P.Burton, ‘My African Testimony’, audio recording. J. Emmett archives, Birmingham, UK.

<sup>47</sup> Burton’s Bible, 874. In this Newberry translation, Isaiah 28:17 reads, ‘Judgment also will I lay to the line and righteousness to the plummet.’

<sup>48</sup> Wacker, ‘Are the Golden Oldies,’ 97.

‘Every effort has been exercised to attain the most rigid accuracy, even to the minutest detail’. He then adds, ‘It is almost too much to hope, however, that a book of such scope is free even from some minor error as to date or place. Thus the compiler will be most grateful if anyone discovering such inaccuracy would be so kind as to bring it to his notice’.<sup>49</sup>

Since Wacker put forward his argument, more recent research has strongly suggested that those who are emotionally involved in history potentially make the best historians in terms of attention to detail.<sup>50</sup> Such an intention of integrity displayed by Burton only lends weight to the argument that testimony is a perfectly valid form of historiography. Furthermore, testimony as a form in this context enables not only an historical reading of events but also a theological one. Burton understands the radical effect and the immediacy of his conversion experience in such an idealistic way that he states: ‘If I had died as I knelt down by my bed I should have dropped straight into hell, but I arose from my knees saved, rejoicing and on my way to glory’.<sup>51</sup>

This idealistic, dramatic, yet simple theological understanding of his own conversion experience was something he saw as normative when carrying out his own evangelistic enterprise. He saw conversion as being ‘saved’ or ‘born again’. Such was his understanding that on one occasion while walking from Preston to conduct a meeting for Parr in Manchester, he talked with a man and, having led him to faith, then immediately baptised him in water in a pond by the side of the road. Womersley sees this, as a Pentecostal writing in 1971, as ‘unorthodox ministry’.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.2 Journey into Pentecostalism

If accretions from Burton’s early years contributed towards his textured, yet perfectionistic character, baptism in the Spirit only heightened this trait. He experienced this in Preston on February 5th 1910 according to his PMU application form.<sup>53</sup> He writes about this, ‘God satisfied me with power from on high, when He poured out upon me His Holy Spirit, and I

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<sup>49</sup> Burton, *God Working*, viii.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 5; see also chapter 3 in Robert J McIver, *Memory, Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 41-58.

<sup>51</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 121. Klaus Fiedler uses Burton’s ‘vivid’ account as an example of sudden conversion; see: Klaus Fielder, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Carlisle: Regnum, 1994), 322.

<sup>52</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 32-33.

<sup>53</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 24a.

praised His Exalted Son, the Lord Jesus, in a new tongue, which I had never learned'.<sup>54</sup> He states:

Oh hallelujah! The long quest was over. The Lord, the Spirit, whom I had so long sought, had suddenly come to His temple, (Mal 3:1). I could put my right hand on my bosom, and point with my left hand to the second chapter of Acts declaring 'THIS IS THAT [...]' (Acts 2:16 – a Scriptural experience).<sup>55</sup>

The actual desire for Spirit baptism came some time previously after a walk in the snow one Christmas day with an unnamed aunt who pointed out how the early disciples were 'urged to receive the Holy Ghost'.<sup>56</sup> The same aunt gave him money so that he could attend Keswick. He went and was disappointed, expressing his frustration by commenting that Simon the Sorcerer (who had offered money to Paul in Acts 8) would not offer money for anything he saw there.<sup>57</sup> This is in contrast to Maxwell writing that Keswick 'impelled him to search for a greater sense of holiness and empowerment by the Holy Spirit'.<sup>58</sup>

Burton had been 'sent as a young engineer to Preston in 1905'.<sup>59</sup> He joined a group under Thomas Myerscough's leadership in Preston. Burton writes how previously he had taken 'special studies with a Church of England clergyman, an MA, and a profound Hebrew and Greek scholar'; however, 'Again and again [...] he was unable to answer my questions and urged me to go and ask a Mr Thos. Myerscough [...] an estate agent'.<sup>60</sup> Myerscough's son, Philip, effectively initiated Burton into that group. Philip offered Burton a hymnbook in 1906 while wearing his grammar school cap in the market place one Sunday evening; this was as his father, 'in frock and top hat', preached to those passing by.<sup>61</sup> Burton wrote that 'bible

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<sup>54</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 5. Glossolalia has been seen as the most characteristic feature of Pentecostalism, though such a view has serious limitations; see: Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 15.

<sup>55</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 4.

<sup>57</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Maxwell, 'From Iconoclasm,' 158. Maxwell probably misinterprets Burton's search for 'that power' taking him to 'Keswick Conventions' and "'Holiness Meetings'" etc', see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 5.

<sup>59</sup> W.F.P. Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' four pages of handwritten notes, n.d, 1.

<sup>60</sup> Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 1. Burton seems to never be slow to hint at weaknesses in Anglicans; this will become more evident. Thomas Myerscough was converted in 1874, twelve years before Burton was born and had visited the Sunderland centre in 1909, see: Desmond Cartwright, 'Myerscough, Thomas' in *New International*, 920.

<sup>61</sup> *CEMR*, 39 (November-December 1932): 633. Burton says here this was in 1906 when he was 'a comparative stranger' in Preston. Writing in 1932, Burton points out that he had no idea at the time that the boy in the grammar school cap would be 'helping us evangelise in Central Africa' by taking over from his father as the secretary of the mission.

students of all denominations sought Myerscough out' and 'benefitted by his simple expositions of the scriptures'.<sup>62</sup>

It was 'about 1908' that Myerscough's group heard about people 'speaking in tongues' and that there was 'a group of such saints at Lytham, only 12 miles from Preston'. They 'went to Lytham [...] to try the spirits'.<sup>63</sup> The Myerscough group concluded that baptism in the Spirit was a distinct experience from conversion.<sup>64</sup> This was after a protracted and concentrated period of study that went on 'every night'<sup>65</sup> for 'over a year'.<sup>66</sup> The depth of study is tacitly acknowledged by J.D.G. Dunn (and then Anthony Thiselton) who cites Burton's encapsulation of the summary over the Greek preposition '*eis*' in 1 Corinthians 12:13.<sup>67</sup>

Burton visited the Lytham group who had experienced baptism in the Spirit and who met in 'a large house'.<sup>68</sup> Burton was impressed with the 'spirit of reality' and the 'waves of spontaneous worship [which] swept over the meeting'; and the way in which 'apparently illiterate folk' used language when praying 'which an orator might envy, yet so artlessly and simply as to preclude all thought that it was done for effect'.<sup>69</sup> The meeting finished late and Burton missed the train home to Preston. Asked to stay overnight at one of their homes, his host impressed him by insisting Burton wore the host's slippers. Burton states he welcomed the chance to make a holistic assessment of the group:

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<sup>62</sup> Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 1.

<sup>63</sup> Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 1.

<sup>64</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 4.

<sup>65</sup> Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 2.

<sup>66</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 7; W.F.P. Burton, Foreword in *In the Beginning was the Word: A History of Preston Pentecostal Church 1908-2008*, Geoff Atkinson (Preston: Geoff Atkinson, 2008), 11-12. He writes here that 'a number of the young men [...] felt that He was keeping us in the homeland as He kept the early disciples in Jerusalem, until we were endued with power from in high'.

<sup>67</sup> J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today* (London: SCM, 1970), 128, n.38. Dunn is not endorsing Burton's stance, but the point I am making is that he considers it worth citing as a 'subtle argument'. Cf. Burton, *My Experience*, 6-7; Anthony Thiselton, *The New International Greek Testament Commentary: The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 999. Burton is cited here along with David du Plessis for their shared pentecostal view of baptism in the Spirit being a "'special'" experience. Thiselton's work is over fourteen hundred pages long.

<sup>68</sup> I visited the address in Lytham; there is a line of very large houses about two hundred yards from the seafront that have now been turned into apartments. Given its size, the house would have been priced above average prices. Burton later led the church that met in that home; he complained of there not being enough room there, yet it was sizeable enough with about fifty coming to the prayer meetings; see: Burton, letter to Mundell, 07/11/1912.

<sup>69</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 6-7.



A delightfully natural spirit of love pervaded the home. There was nothing stilted or sanctimonious. Indeed, one might say it was a typical North Country family, with the usual cordiality and freedom, but with the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ everywhere.<sup>70</sup>

Burton reviewed his impressions on his return journey in idealistic terms. It was on this train ride home Burton decided to become a Pentecostal:

I was absolutely convinced that this experience was of God, that it was for me, and that I must have it or my life would prove a failure from God's viewpoint. I must throw in my lot wholeheartedly with these people.<sup>71</sup>

Burton explains how back in Preston the Spirit 'began to fall upon us in such a way that often four or five a night were filled with the Holy Spirit while tongues, interpretations, prophecies and healings became quite common among us'.<sup>72</sup>

### **2.3 Burton's Pentecostal Missionary Union Application**

Burton's mother died in March 1911 and he sent in his application for the PMU in June 1911.<sup>73</sup> Burton answers a question about dependent relatives by saying no one is dependent upon him 'in any way' and that his father 'has just married again'.<sup>74</sup> The PMU application gives February 5<sup>th</sup> 1910 as the date Burton was 'baptised in the Holy Ghost, with the accompanying sign of speaking in tongues (Acts 1:8)'. Burton also lists casting out demons and laying hands on the sick and seeing them recover as 'other signs of his personal baptism in the Holy Ghost, with accompanying biblical references'.<sup>75</sup> Elsewhere, Burton states that he was baptised in the Spirit in February 1911<sup>76</sup> and writing about 35 years later, Burton gives early in 1911.<sup>77</sup> There is ambiguity parallel to his conversion date.

There is a space (seventeen centimeters long by two centimeters deep) for Burton to give his understanding of 'The Baptism of the Holy Spirit'. He squeezes eleven phrases with

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<sup>70</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 9.

<sup>71</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 9.

<sup>72</sup> Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 2.

<sup>73</sup> MPMU No.9, 07/07/1911. This minute records Burton's application being received. However, it was sent with a covering letter from Burton to Mundell earlier, see: Burton, letter to Mundell, 10/06/1911.

<sup>74</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 9. There is no record that I can find of Burton having any more contact with his father after this. His father died in August 1913.

<sup>75</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 24a.

<sup>76</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 11.

supporting biblical references.<sup>78</sup> There were no pentecostal systematic theologies written at this time. Burton gives similar detail to a further ten doctrinal questions. Burton's detailed application would have stood out. Anderson notes that most applicants would only have had elementary or primary school education and would have come from working-class occupations.<sup>79</sup> Burton was atypical in both his social class and his education.<sup>80</sup>

Burton writes about what he perceives to be the benefits of 'endowment with power from on high' some thirty-five years after experiencing his baptism in the Spirit:

I boast nothing in myself, for if ever there were a helpless and failing man in the world, it is myself apart from the Holy Spirit. I can point to a little insignificant beginning by a small handful of us nobodies, in the Belgian Congo [...] in 1915 that has now grown to a mission with over 80 missionaries, 11 mission stations and over 1,000 native churches, as well as to thousands of happy believers [...] I can point to thousands miraculously healed in answer to prayer, to signs and wonders wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost, to demons cast out, to Divine protection in the most dangerous circumstances [...] to homes made happy and hearts made holy.<sup>81</sup>

In the covering letter accompanying the 'candidate's schedule',<sup>82</sup> Burton explains he has not had a photograph of himself taken for some time and has therefore not attached one, but could send one if it really was viewed as 'essential'. (The application form did ask for a photograph). He then adds, in what some might see as an ostentatious tone: 'I think that the form is otherwise complete, though, you must admit, it is hard to deal with such a tremendous theme as the atonement, in the wee space provided'.<sup>83</sup>

### 2.3.1 Referees

Burton cites three names as the referees to support his PMU application. These are significant as one would suspect that they were men whom Burton respected.

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<sup>78</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 25c.

<sup>79</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 264.

<sup>80</sup> Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 223-240. Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 199-201. These two writers refer to early American Pentecostals, but the same applied to early British Pentecostalism.

<sup>81</sup> Burton, *My Personal Experience*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> This is the way the application form was referred to by the PMU.

<sup>83</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 10/06/1911.

### 2.3.1.1 Myerscough

Myerscough is the first listed; Burton writes that he is an estate agent and then adds in brackets, 'elder of church'. Burton was known for detesting religious titles.<sup>84</sup> Later, Burton wrote an open letter, three pages in length, entitled, 'Please don't call me "Reverend"'.<sup>85</sup> Myerscough played the principal role in Burton's inculcation into Pentecostalism. Little has been written about Myerscough; he was a founder member of the AOG and served on the first AOG executive council as well as acting as the first secretary and treasurer of the CEM till his death in 1932.<sup>86</sup> Described as 'the most forgotten' of all the pentecostal pioneers,<sup>87</sup> it is important that some of Myerscough's background and personal history is given to understand the influence he had upon Burton, who 21 years later still referred to himself as one of 'Myerscough's lads'.<sup>88</sup>

Myerscough's family, like Burton's, had a Brethren background and was against pentecostal manifestations. After going to Lytham in 1908 to see the aforementioned group meeting in Henry Mogridge's home each evening,<sup>89</sup> Myerscough then went to Sunderland in May 1909 where he experienced baptism in the Spirit.<sup>90</sup> Myerscough was then invited to be the keynote speaker at the emerging pentecostal centres such as Sunderland, Kilsyth, and Manchester.<sup>91</sup> Boddy starts to mention him in the first British pentecostal magazine, *Confidence*, as early as September 1909.<sup>92</sup> Myerscough is next mentioned as a signatory to a London declaration on

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<sup>84</sup> David Womersley, interview with the author, 02/02/2012; Roy and Marion Leeming, interview with the author, 07/02/2012.

<sup>85</sup> W.F.P. Burton, 'Please Don't Call me "Reverend"', handwritten letter to 'Dear Brother', undated. Although the letter is undated, Burton says he is writing some sixty years after his conversion, which would put it around 1965.

<sup>86</sup> Cartwright, 'Myerscough, Thomas,' 920.

<sup>87</sup> Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers*, 167.

<sup>88</sup> *CEMR* 36 (April-June 1932): 557. Burton writes 'In Memoriam': 'Mr. and Mrs. Myerscough! We loved you. We honoured you, and with thousands more we thank God for the day you came into our lives'.

<sup>89</sup> Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers*, 151. Mogridge, himself from a Wesleyan Methodist background, received his baptism in the Spirit in 1907 when Anglican vicar Alexander Boddy had laid hands upon him in his vestry in Sunderland.

<sup>90</sup> Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers*, 168.

<sup>91</sup> *Conf* 3:5 (May 1910): 120; Myerscough is listed as one of six British speakers at the Sunderland Whitsuntide Convention, May 14-20 1910; *Conf* 3:11 (November 1911): 251; a report is given of a Leeds pentecostal convention where Myerscough was speaking alongside Stanley Frodsham, Boddy and 'Brother and Sister' Wigglesworth. It states: 'Sick were healed, baptisms in the Holy Ghost (with tongues); and deeply spiritual teaching given'; in this same issue is a notice of a London conference where Myerscough is to speak alongside Boddy, and Jeffreys. *Conf* 3:11 (November 1911): 261. *Conf* 4:1 (January 1911): 6; here is a report of Myerscough speaking with Smith Wigglesworth in Manchester, 10 baptised in the Holy Spirit.

<sup>92</sup> *Conf* 2:9 (September 1909): 100A. Boddy reports here how on a visit to Lytham he saw Myerscough on his way back to Sunderland while in Preston. He heard how following on from Myerscough's experience in Sunderland, he had seen Roman Catholics 'touched by his open air meetings'.

Baptism in the Spirit in December of that same year. This declaration asserts doctrinal issues, the first being that tongues is the sign of the baptism in the Spirit.<sup>93</sup>

Myerscough's rapid rise to a very public position in pentecostal circles meant that anyone to whom he gave a supportive reference in 1911 would be receiving noteworthy support in the inceptive pentecostal movement. Burton was always grateful to Myerscough for his support, viewing it later as a Paul - Timothy, father - son relationship and referring to Myerscough as his beloved brother, 'at whose feet [...] [I] was privileged to sit for five years continuously and then intermittently ever since'.<sup>94</sup> In 1924 Hettie Burton wrote to Myerscough and his wife addressing them as 'my English Father and Mother'.<sup>95</sup> Myerscough's early study group developed into the PMU Bible school from 1911-1914, Burton's formative years in Pentecostalism. Myerscough was able to write in March 1911 that he had 25 students and among those named are James McNeil from Kilsyth.<sup>96</sup> Myerscough's influence comes across in the PMU minute acknowledging that 'a candidates (sic) schedule' had 'been duly filled in by Willie Burton' and 'as this candidate was personally known to the Council and strongly recommended by Mr Myerscough, it was resolved that he be forthwith accepted as one of the regular students at Preston under Mr Myerscough'.<sup>97</sup> The timing of Burton's PMU application supported by Myerscough could be seen as somewhat fortuitous, given that Myerscough had only just joined the PMU council at the previous meeting.<sup>98</sup>

### 2.3.1.2 Two Other Referees

The second referee is now well known for his pentecostal credentials, 'a plumber, Mr Smith Wigglesworth'. Again, Burton puts 'elder of the church' in brackets after describing him as a plumber first.<sup>99</sup> Much has been written about Smith Wigglesworth and his pentecostal

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<sup>93</sup> Conf 2:12 (December 1909): 288. Among other signatories were Boddy, Mogridge and Polhill.

<sup>94</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 122.

<sup>95</sup> Hettie Burton, letter to the Myerscoughs, 17/03/1924.

<sup>96</sup> Conf 4:3 (March 1911): 68. McNeil went on to become a leader of an independent pentecostal church in Kilsyth; see: Garrard, *'History'* 4, n.45. Womersley spells his name with double l: Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 32.

<sup>97</sup> MPMU No.9, 07/07/1911.

<sup>98</sup> MPMU No.9, 07/06/1911. It is also recorded in this same minute that Myerscough would be given travelling expenses to come from Preston to London four times a year for council meetings with the expectation that he would 'conduct a meeting at the women's training home' during the week he attended the council meeting.

<sup>99</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 27. Smith Wigglesworth's biography, written by Stanley Howard Frodsham was advertised in *CEMR* 152 (July 1949): 1553.

kudos.<sup>100</sup> Even in 1911 there were already reports of him experiencing healings; one 1911 account tells of him trembling ‘with the power of the Holy Ghost, which just then mightily filled him’ as he prayed for a lady with an internal growth who was ‘healed quite suddenly’.<sup>101</sup> Smith Wigglesworth was respected by the PMU, as evidenced in their expressing thanks to him for agreeing to their request to receive Miss Thomas from the women’s training home for ‘experiences in his mission’.<sup>102</sup>

Having, in pentecostal terms, named two seductive referees, Burton describes his third referee (he was asked on the form to supply two or three names) in the following way: ‘Rev: E.Habershon (Ch! Of Eng!) (Does not understand Pentecost, but an earnest (sic) Christian)’.<sup>103</sup> Burton gratuitously naming a third referee like this is intriguing. Was Burton so comparatively new to emerging Pentecostalism that he had no other referees to name? He had experienced, by his own admission, an inefficacious Anglican background. Was he currying favour with PMU board member and Anglican vicar Alexander Boddy? Or was he doing totally the contrary and sending a distinctive communiqué to him? Reading Burton’s application and seeing the juxtaposition of ‘Church of England’ and ‘does not understand Pentecost’ might have been a tocsin for Boddy.<sup>104</sup> Indisputably, more frustration towards the Church of England and to Boddy at a personal level was to follow, as will be seen.

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<sup>100</sup> Several biographies have been written about him, for example: S.H.Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth: Apostle of Faith* (Croydon: Heath Press, 1949); Albert Hibbert, *Smith Wigglesworth: The Secret of His Power* (Tulsa: Harrison, 1982); Desmond Cartwright, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth; the Man, the Myth, the Message* (Tonbridge: Sovereign, 2000).

<sup>101</sup> *Conf* 4:11 (November 1911): 245-246; it is worth noting that Smith Wigglesworth would have been 52 in 1911, more than twice the age of the 25-year-old Burton. Myerscough would have been 53.

<sup>102</sup> Smith Wigglesworth later joined the PMU council, see: MPMU No.4, 28/06/1915; but by this time Burton was just about to leave Johannesburg for Congo; see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 18, which gives the 30/06/1915, or had just left, as Burton gives the date as 23/06/1915 in 1964; see: *CEMR*. No. 333 (August 1964): 2.

<sup>103</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 27.

<sup>104</sup> There are records of an E.N.W. Habershon, living in Holmwood, 9 miles from Reigate the place where Burton grew up. Burton might therefore have included Habershon as a referee simply because he would have known Burton during his youth. If he were the same man, it would appear from these records that he was a Cambridge graduate, had 7 servants and lived off private means in the 1901 census and also left an estate of nearly £3,000 in his will when he died in 1933. There is a clear difference in the education and social class of the non-pentecostal referee supporting Burton’s PMU application to the two Pentecostals; ‘Edward Neston William Habershon,’ accessed 24/09/2012, <http://ghgraham.org/edwardhabershon1859.html>.

## 2.4 Burton in Christian Ministry

After his mother's death Burton resigned from his job as an 'electrical engineer' with 'Dick Kerr and Co'<sup>105</sup> and worked full-time in Christian ministry with people initially meeting in 'private houses' and then 'as the Lord added' hired halls. He believed he would be going to Africa 'soon'.<sup>106</sup> After Burton's death a 'Ministerial Certificate' dated 28th July 1911 and signed by Myerscough was found 'in very well preserved condition among his treasured possessions'.<sup>107</sup>

In October 1911 Burton was willing to go and speak to groups of Christians who had not yet experienced baptism in the Spirit, for example a group in Dundee, and then two Salvation Army officers in nearby Tayport.<sup>108</sup> In a report to the secretary of the PMU, Thomas Mundell, about this trip to Scotland, he writes of the Lord 'confirming the word' with 'several cases of healing and conversion'. Further, he comments how he 'stayed the night *en route* at Crieff'<sup>109</sup> with Mr. Stewart, a dear aged brother who figured prominently at Sunderland' and also, 'In Aberfeldy we stayed with Mr Gow. A grand old gamekeeper, who is in sympathy with all the gospel as we know it'.<sup>110</sup>

Sunderland was at the time a centre for Pentecostalism and it could be seen that Mr Gow is poignantly recorded as not just being in sympathy with 'all the gospel', but with 'all the gospel as we know it'. Following his Spirit baptism, Burton is quickly joining up with fellow Pentecostals and propagating the pentecostal message himself. He has become part of a movement where many are still meeting in houses or independent churches and connecting together through meeting at 'great conventions' in centres such as Sunderland, London and Bradford.<sup>111</sup> Only three months after he experienced baptism in the Spirit, Burton travelled to Sunderland to attend a convention meeting there.<sup>112</sup> It has been observed there is a 'widespread pattern' within Pentecostalism today to 'identify with and recruit real or

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<sup>105</sup> Burton, PMU application, questions 11 and 12. Burton wrote to James Atkinson telling him that Dick Kerr was later called 'The English Electrical Mfg.Co': Burton, letter to James Atkinson, 14/12/1962.

<sup>106</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 32. This was initially in Bracknell in Berkshire and then in Lytham.

<sup>107</sup> *CEMR* 412/3 (March/April 1971): 12.

<sup>108</sup> Tayport is just the other side of the Tay, opposite Dundee.

<sup>109</sup> Crieff is about sixty miles west of Dundee.

<sup>110</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 27/09/1911. Underlining his. Aberfeldy is about 25 miles north of Crieff. The epithet of 'grand' given to the gamekeeper is interesting; did Burton enjoy being with those who worked out in the open? Certainly, we know that later on Burton lodges in the home of another gamekeeper during his time in Lytham, see: Burton, letter to Sandwith, 20/03/1913.

<sup>111</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 153. The cities are from a list Womersley gives, he adds 'and other centres'.

<sup>112</sup> Cartwright, interview. Cartwright stated he had photographic evidence of this.

imagined support from distant sources'.<sup>113</sup> This sort of networking, along with global travel, is one of the identifying markers of more contemporary charismatic Christianity.<sup>114</sup> In his PMU application Burton answers the question as to which section of the Church of Christ he is associated with, 'The Preston Evangelistic Association: An interdenominational pentecostal *centre*'.<sup>115</sup>

Anderson refers to Pentecostalism as a 'polynucleated and variegated phenomenon'.<sup>116</sup> Gee went on to refer to Preston under Myerscough's leadership as 'a Pentecostal *centre* [...] that has been second to none, perhaps in all the world'.<sup>117</sup> Burton writing about it during his pre-Congo days, states while it was criticised by various denominations as having 'Pentecostal Devils' it would still send out 30-40 young men each Sunday to preach in surrounding churches.<sup>118</sup> Burton's own experience of pentecostal centres as a means to strengthening nascent Pentecostalism is something he later used to propagate Pentecostalism both among the Baluba and the Basongye. This enabled embryonic churches in small villages, in the words of Robbins' contemporary view of Pentecostalism cited above, to 'identify with and recruit real or imagined support from distant sources'.<sup>119</sup>

#### 2.4.1 Healing Ministry

Burton's pentecostal traits were not exclusively derived from other Pentecostals, pentecostal centres and baptism in the Spirit. Burton believed in praying for the sick with an expectation that they would be healed. He had seen this happen before he became a Pentecostal. Such idealism, viewing God as intervening in health issues, only increased following his baptism in the Spirit. He prayed for his own healings throughout his life. In 1911, after trusting God, he experienced the growth of a completely new set of teeth.<sup>120</sup> In 1944 he was not expected to live long having been diagnosed with a cancer in his colon. He experienced healing and

<sup>113</sup> Robbins, 'The Globalization,' 136.

<sup>114</sup> Simon Coleman, *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity; Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 20-27, cited in Allan Anderson, 'Varieties, taxonomies, and definitions,' in Anderson et al. eds., *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (Berkeley: UCP, 2010), 21.

<sup>115</sup> Burton, PMU application, question 19. Emphasis mine. The 'centre' was 2 hired rooms over Starkies Wire Works in Lancaster Road, Preston, it attracted 80-90 on Monday and Friday evenings and Myerscough used coloured chalks on a large blackboard. See: Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 1.

<sup>116</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 4.

<sup>117</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 54. Emphasis mine.

<sup>118</sup> Burton, 'Preston Assembly,' 2.

<sup>119</sup> Robbins, 'The Globalization,' 137.

<sup>120</sup> Womersley, *Wm F.P. Burton*, 31. Womersley adds that most of them remained until his death and this 'sign' was attested at the time and recorded in articles and on radio programmes.

published ‘before and after’ x-rays; this was not instant and, as will be seen in the next chapter, there was no shortage of frustration while living with the illness.

Burton links baptism in the Spirit and healing when he writes to Mundell: ‘We have great crowds on Sun. Evg. listening to the gospel, & also people at the little mission are continuing to receive the Holy Spirit, & get healed’.<sup>121</sup> In his correspondence with the PMU Burton cites various examples of healing; he tells of a case of healing in Preston of ‘a little paralytic - she was also nearly blind, lame, & mentally defective’.<sup>122</sup> A few weeks later, he writes about another healing which also produces a conversion: ‘A little girl (paralysed) was brought by a Christian nurse some days ago & healed. Her mother came yesterday to see the meeting [...] God spoke mightily to her, [...] she was crying & sobbing all the time [...] Hallelujah! She can never be the same again.’<sup>123</sup>

## 2.5 Frustration with Missionary Societies and Missionary Candidates

Burton was indecisive about where he should be in Africa. Between his joining the PMU in June 1911 and leaving it in February 1914, he experienced and expressed great frustration with various plans to go to Africa. The PMU irritated Burton in March 1912; they seemed to be insisting he went with the Africa Inland Mission (AIM), while he himself wanted to go to northern Nigeria believing God had ‘set his seal to it’.<sup>124</sup> (In 1912 AIM was extending its existing work into Congo for the first time, into the northeast of Congo.)<sup>125</sup> AIM had ‘been approached’ by the PMU ‘with a view to accepting some of the Preston students’ and Burton was told he would later be interviewed by Charles Hurlburt of the AIM.<sup>126</sup> In April 1912 Burton expressed to the PMU his willingness to ‘go wherever the Lord might direct’.<sup>127</sup> In June 1912, Burton stated to the PMU that he wanted to go to Northern Nigeria to work with John M. Young and later on wrote about working in Nigeria with a South African, named

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<sup>121</sup> Burton letter to Mundell, 14/08/1912.

<sup>122</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 28/10/1912.

<sup>123</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 04/11/1912. Underlining his. Burton also opinionates over the excessive make-up of the mother and delights in telling how her ‘powdered face went “blotchy” while crying.

<sup>124</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, n.d. received by Mundell on 25/03/1912. The AIM, founded in 1895, was one of the largest missionary organisations in terms of numbers, at that time; see: Fiedler, *The Story*, 48.

<sup>125</sup> Thiessen, John Caldwell, *A Survey of World Missions. Revised Edition* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1961), 236.

<sup>126</sup> MPMU No.3, 19/04/1912, Burton was present at this meeting at which it was arranged he would meet up with Mr. Hurlburt (elsewhere spelt Hurlbert, as in Fiedler) of the AIM who was due to return from Africa on 14<sup>th</sup> May.

<sup>127</sup> MPMU No.3, 19/04/1912. This was following earlier correspondence with the PMU where Burton had stated he would ‘at any cost avoid ‘being ‘strictly subservient to a senior missionary’; see: Burton, letter to Mundell, 27/09/1911.



Gillies.<sup>128</sup> Burton was learning Hausa.<sup>129</sup> However, when Young wrote of still ‘seeking freedom to preach the gospel’ and of needing to set up a missionary agency in the UK,<sup>130</sup> Burton felt the ‘dear Lord had closed the door’.<sup>131</sup>

In October 1912 Burton had a ‘long talk’ with C.T. Studd<sup>132</sup> about working with him in Central Sudan.<sup>133</sup> Studd had already established his missionary career by working in China and India, but was willing to recruit Burton ‘tongues and all!’<sup>134</sup> Burton’s wide biblical knowledge caused him to look down on Studd. Burton writes, ‘I don’t know much about the man beyond the fact that in his two addresses in Wigan he gave evidence of only being a very superficial student of the Word’.<sup>135</sup> The perceived ‘superficiality’ of biblical knowledge was something that either frustrated or delighted (when remedied) Burton later in terms of Congolese agency, with an illiterate Shalumbo doing the latter by memorising scriptures. Further, Studd’s referring to gifts of the Spirit as a ‘box of tricks’ was sufficient reason to upset Burton causing him to believe he could not work with Studd.<sup>136</sup> However, Burton did take the time to sketch the area Studd had talked about evangelising, among the Niam-Niams.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 10/06/1912; in this letter Burton explains why it has not been possible to work with Young and mentions Gillies; also see: Young, letter to Burton, 13/07/1912. Young admits he does not ‘know what to say or advise’ about Burton coming out to Nigeria.

<sup>129</sup> John Young, letter to Burton, 13/07/1912. Young gives Burton a phrase in Hausa as Burton has told him he is learning the language.

<sup>130</sup> Young, letter to Burton, 13/07/1912.

<sup>131</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 14/08/1912.

<sup>132</sup> For more on C.T. Studd, see: Norman Grubb, *C.T. Studd: Cricketer and Pioneer* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1933, 2014).

<sup>133</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 03/10/1912.

<sup>134</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 33.

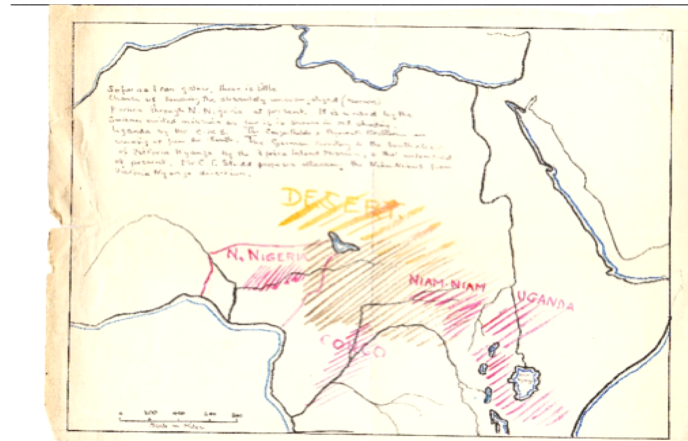
<sup>135</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 03/10/1912. C.T. Studd was one of the ‘Cambridge Seven’, see: Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 48. Cf. Garrard, ‘History’; he puts Studd’s offer as late as February 1914. According to Wayland Carpenter, Studd founded the Heart of Africa Mission in 1913, with its ‘field’ being south west of the AIM; see: Wayland Carpenter, *Highways for God in Congo: Commemorating Seventy-five years of Protestant Missions 1878-1953* (Léopoldville: Librairie Evangélique au Congo, 1952), 25. This became the more well known Worldwide Evangelisation Crusade (WEC), celebrating its centennial in 2013; see: ‘WEC: Who we Are,’ accessed 25/10/2013, <http://www.wecinternational.org/index.php/wec-centennial>.

<sup>136</sup> Peter Lyne, *First Apostles, Last Apostles* (Tonbridge: Sovereign, 1999), 14-15. Peter Lyne is a restorationist church leader who was one of the so-called ‘magnificent seven’ who met in Arthur Wallis’ home. See: Walker, *Restoring*, 76. Burton had responded by saying any man who referred to the gifts of the Spirit as ‘a box of tricks’ was not a man he could work with.

<sup>137</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 03/10/1912. The sketch was attached to this letter. The writing on the sketch states: ‘So far as I can gather, there is little chance of touching the unevangelised (brown) portion through Nigeria at present. It is worked by the Sudan United Mission as far as is shown on red shading. Uganda by the C.M.S. The Congo-Balolo & the Plymouth Brethren are up working from the south. The German territory to the

Figure 6

Burton's sketch after talking with C.T.Studd



November 28th 1912 was a date Burton had thought he might be sailing on with James McNeil from Kilsyth to work with the AIM in Congo. Burton cancelled on November 11<sup>th</sup>. He wrote to Mundell expressing his frustration over McNeil who, unimpressively in Burton's mind, had just got engaged, which Burton believed would have meant a divided heart. Burton stated he could not 'work with a single eye'.<sup>138</sup>

By November 1912 Burton's unsettled relationship with missionary organisation becomes clear as Burton responds to a request from Myerscough that he put down on paper, for the benefit of the PMU council, his reasons for firstly accepting and then rejecting an offer from AIM to work in eastern Congo. (The PMU had paid for tickets.) He explains he had initially believed he should accept the offer as he saw it as 'an opening of the Lord', and that as well as going to an 'unevangelised people' he also appreciated:

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South & West of Victoria Nyanza by the Africa Inland Mission & tho' untouched at present, Mr. C.T.Studd proposes attacking the Niam-Niams from Victoria Nyanza direction'.

<sup>138</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 11/11/1912. Although McNeil referred to it not as an engagement but as an 'understanding'; to which Burton responds, 'I don't see a hap'orth of difference'. In this letter Burton again stresses his trust in divine healing: 'As for the matter of being away from help in case of sickness, we should certainly never be. - For our Help & Healer dwells within us & with us always. (One or 2 glorious cases of paralysis healed during the last few days) Such a difficulty never occurred to me & so I certainly did not influence Jimmy [meaning McNeil] on this point'. The question of relying on God or medicine, or both, was to become a moot point once Burton was in Congo, especially with regard to taking malarial prophylactics.

We were to be allowed liberty to proclaim the gospel in the way we thought fit. viz:- Repentance towards God & faith in the Lord Jesus, Baptism by immersion, The reception of the Holy Spirit as attested to by speaking in tongues, Healing in the Name of Jesus, etc.<sup>139</sup>

As early as 1900, AIM was described as ‘apostolic’ and based on ‘the work of the blessed Spirit’.<sup>140</sup> Burton concurs and views the gospel in pentecostal terms. However, in the same letter, Burton explains, it is not AIM *per se* that had caused him to cancel. Burton would no longer want to go with McNeil, as he had become engaged, believing McNeil would be better placed in an established work. Both Burton’s zealous idealism and his frustration with McNeil comes across:

I have seen clearly that I have been trying to carry another fellow’s difficulties as well as my own. I can exchange a few hundreds in Lytham for as many thousands in Africa of more needy souls. I believe God will send me a companion - Half a dozen if necessary - Consequently I am prepared to go forward. I hope that this explanation will meet the requirements of the P.M.U.<sup>141</sup>

Burton manifests his frustration about McNeil, yet adds a considerate conclusion:

after weeks of trying I have grave doubts as to whether I have satisfactorily instilled into him the distinction between verb & adjective. I hope I am wrong but I don’t think he will get far with a difficult language, & from what I have seen of his fiancée she is about on a par [...] I believe him unsuitable owing to his lack of training to think for himself. Low initiative! Though I sincerely love him as a brother.<sup>142</sup>

PMU treasurer, W.H. Sandwith was already saying at this time, November 1912, that Burton was ‘so self-willed that [it] means that one cannot quite have that confidence in him as before’.<sup>143</sup>

In January 1913, Burton writes to Mundell and refers to the fact that he went to Stratford-upon-Avon to heal a woman.<sup>144</sup> In this same letter, Burton also declares willingness to do as

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<sup>139</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 18/11/1912.

<sup>140</sup> Fiedler, *The Story*, 197, n.48. Citing here a letter of recommendation for Charles Hurlbert from the independent Presbyterian, Arthur Tappan Pierson.

<sup>141</sup> Letter to Myerscough, 18/11/1912.

<sup>142</sup> Letter to Myerscough, 18/11/1912.

<sup>143</sup> Sandwith, letter to Mundell, 11/11/1912. This was in the context of Burton saying he would go with McNeil only if he ‘loosed himself from the young woman’.

<sup>144</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 13/01/1913. He fills in the details on this in a later letter to Sandwith: the woman was ‘a rich lady’ who had ‘been suffering for some years but was instantly healed’. This healing enabled Burton

the PMU would like him to, even to travel with McNeil to the Ukamba province in Kenya. Given his previous statements, this shows something of Burton's desperation to be in Africa. They would work with non-pentecostal missionaries Mr. and Mrs. Watts, whom Burton said he liked. Once they had gained experience, they would then move on to Mahagi, just within the border of Congo. Burton's non-denominational perspective surfaces with him considering working, initially at least, with non-Pentecostals.<sup>145</sup> Burton adds a P.S., saying that his time in Lytham is finishing expressing some frustration with the group that had initially impressed him about four years earlier: 'I have for a few weeks freely expressed the opinion that my job here is ending. So much time in fattening up Christians who ought to be out after others, & getting into the Word for themselves.'<sup>146</sup>

A few weeks later and Burton yet again changes his mind over travelling with McNeil. Myerscough writes about this news that it would have been shocking to have had a man like McNeil 'with such a spirit tied to a loving earnest Bro. like Burton'.<sup>147</sup> Burton meanwhile acknowledges that there are other Pentecostals with whom he could travel. Burton then gives a report, saying how the 'local Vicar is very much enraged because I baptised one of his parishioners last week in a little stream near the farm. He is saying most bitter things, but Jesus reigns'.<sup>148</sup> Burton in the same letter, gives something of his understanding on authority when writing about the interview he must have had with Mr Hurlburt that had been talked about in April 1912:

[...] every believer has a right to getting his direction straight from the Master, though we are all mutually dependent also. What struck me as very nice in Mr Hurlbert (sic) was that he once or twice asked advice & opinion of a junior missionary who was with him during part of my interview. Tho'. one must be firm occasionally, yet I hate that domineering spirit in Christian leadership.<sup>149</sup>

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to take 'drawing room meetings' in Kenilworth and Birmingham 'to tell them about the Holy Spirit' and in these meetings 'intelligent questions were asked' and 'some more came out for healing'. Further, this led to the possibility of a '10- day tramp around Crewe, Stafford and Shrewsbury' with Parr being called in by Burton from Manchester to cover for him in Lytham. See: Burton, letter to Sandwith, 20/03/1913.

<sup>145</sup> Burton, Letter to Mundell, 13/01/1913. Burton's pentecostal credentials manifest though with his view on healing emphasised yet again in the last paragraph of this letter: 'I am in touch, through my aunt, with the Chief. C.M.S. Med'. Miss'. At Mengo Hospital Uganda, & he is I believe being thoroughly stirred up about the Lord's power to heal the sick etc.- A Dr Cook - I pointed out what vast time was wasted (that brought no souls to Christ & no glory to His precious Name) in patching up the old man instead of producing a new man'. It will be seen later that the use of prophylactics against malaria was contentious with the early CEM missionaries.

<sup>146</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 13/01/1913.

<sup>147</sup> Myerscough, letter to Mundell, 04/02/1913.

<sup>148</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 04/02/1913.

<sup>149</sup> Letter to Mundell, 04/02/1913. It is not clear when the interview with Hurlburt actually took place.

Creeping suspicion over Anglicanism coupled with strong belief that direction ultimately comes ‘straight from the Master’ was going to raise issues with the PMU, as will be seen below.

### 2.5.1 Fred Johnstone Possibility ends in Frustration

In August 1913, Alma Doering informed Burton and Fred Johnstone that they had been accepted as missionaries to work with the Congo Inland Mission (CoIM). She told them they were the first Pentecostals to be accepted, alongside a Miss Schlantzky.<sup>150</sup> In the letter she outlines the opportunities available saying that there are five large unevangelised people groups with what she perceives as a ‘hunger among the people for the Gospel’ and that ‘Pentecostal brethren will have an unlimited field for future operations’. This pentecostal advocate of the CoIM<sup>151</sup> must have been aware of the personalities to whom she was writing as she wrote:

IF the first Pentecostal workers who go out, go in a humble and broken spirit; not expecting to force matters, but letting God authenticate them by putting His seal upon their walk and work, there is every prospect that all our workers on the field will become imbued (sic) with PENTECOST. Oh what a responsibility we have<sup>152</sup>

Burton’s September 1913 response to this second go-ahead echoed his earlier rejection of McNeil; he said he would prefer Salter, who had not yet been accepted by the PMU, to join him first even though he lacked ‘polish’. He added that Salter was a ‘maturer (sic) evangelist, with far keener insight and savoir faire than Johnstone’.<sup>153</sup> Burton adds that as he was himself ‘conversant with Mr Myerscough’s mainlines’ he would be able to help Salter. He added that

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<sup>150</sup> Letter from Alma Doering to Burton and Johnstone, 02/08/1913, written from Germany; Mr. Claudon the secretary of the CoIM, wrote to them in September 1913. In her letter to Burton and Johnstone, Doering states that they are, together with Schlantzky, ‘the answer to three years of unceasing prayer to God’; she goes on to state her belief that those who like herself, have had the ‘baptism with tongues [...] should not congest, but rather scatter out among the many hungry souls in the churches, who needed the LIFE first of all and then the witness of the power of the Holy Ghost in one of their own number.’ Emphasis hers.

<sup>151</sup> Alma Doering is said to ‘effectively advocate the cause of the Kongo (sic) Inland Mission’ in *Conf* 7:9 (September 1914): 177; the CoIM at the time had Mennonite money, but no Mennonite missionaries, they agreed to Doering attempting to recruit missionaries from Europe. Given her own experience of ‘baptism with tongues’, it is clear from her letter of 02/08/1913 to Burton and Johnstone, she was delighted to recruit ‘Pentecostal people’. Doering’s attempts to establish European branches of the CoIM resulted in eight missionaries from Europe going to Congo, including Johnstone, but by 1925 none of them remained with CoIM, see: Fiedler, *The Story*, 132-133.

<sup>152</sup> Alma Doering, letter to Burton and Johnstone, 02/08/1913. Emphasis hers.

<sup>153</sup> Cartwright comments on Burton’s educated upbringing in using *savoir faire* by saying most Pentecostals at the time would have thought he was speaking in tongues: Cartwright, interview. Andrew Davies writes: ‘Pentecostalism was born, if not quite in the gutter, then perhaps not too far above it’. See: Andrew Davies, ‘What Does it Mean to Read the Bible as a Pentecostal?’, *JPT* 18 (2009): 217.

whereas Salter ‘has been up against the world, & felt its knocks, & learnt to stand alone’, Johnstone ‘has always had his mother’s apron strings to fly to’.<sup>154</sup> A prioritising of the ‘spiritual level’ of missionary candidates over their ‘educational level’ was not unique to Burton, but something seen as common to all faith missions in their early days.<sup>155</sup> This is interesting to bear in mind when, much later, Johnstone is chosen to go and work among the Basongye at Kipushya. (Admittedly this was after working in Congo for a time with the PMU, in association with the CoIM, at Djoka Punda.)<sup>156</sup> Burton considered he could teach Salter, preferring him to Johnstone; Johnstone had been accepted in March 1913 by the PMU ‘on probation for training to admission to our PMU Missionary Training Home’.<sup>157</sup>

Myerscough had written a reference for Johnstone’s PMU application: ‘he is small and not very strong in appearance’ and adds ‘he would make a first class helper to a good leader’.<sup>158</sup> It would stretch credibility to imagine such statements being made about Burton, yet Burton never featured on the Sunderland platform, nor was he ever mentioned in *Confidence*. Boddy, writing a few months later, made clear his view on Burton ever speaking: ‘I do not intend to permit him to speak in any meeting I have charge of, until he is a very different man.’<sup>159</sup> Why did Boddy write this in January 1914?

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<sup>154</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 19/09/1913.

<sup>155</sup> Fiedler, *The Story*, 396; however, the PMU did take training missionary candidates seriously, see: Anderson, *Spreading*, 265; Steven Jenkins, ‘“Equipped to serve”: The British Pentecostal Movement’s early attempts at training for mission work’ *JEPTA* 32.2 (2012): 211-235.

<sup>156</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 48. Djoka Punda was in Kasai. The fact that Johnstone went out with Doering and the CoIM will be referred to later in this thesis. Doering, along with many other missionaries at the time was able to display racism in her reporting back to Europe; see: Allan Anderson, ‘Revising Pentecostal History in Global Perspective,’ in Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang, eds., *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: Regnum, 2005), 163-164.

<sup>157</sup> *Conf* 6:3 (March 1913): 62.

<sup>158</sup> Myerscough, letter to Mundell, 02/01/1913. Although, he did write about Johnstone getting into the ‘bad books of Moggs of Manchester’ by standing up to him with regard to his not believing eternal life could be possessed now, Myerscough wrote that Johnstone had ‘real grit when he stands up before others for the pure word of God’. Myerscough, letter to Mundell, 04/02/1913. Johnstone later wrote to Mundell explaining that Moggs was ‘greatly opposed’ to the PMU on the grounds that it was a ‘man made union’ and the only way Moggs saw anyone as being sent to ‘the missionary field’ was through ‘tongues and interpretation according to the book of Acts’ and that even if people were sent, they should be sent to ‘such countries as Germany, France, Spain and Russia’. Johnstone, letter to Mundell, 27/02/1913. Emphasis his.

<sup>159</sup> Letter from Boddy to PMU, 30/01/1914. Johnstone will figure again below, but it is worth noting now that Doering’s desire to see the CoIM field ‘imbued (sic) with PENTECOST’ did not materialise. Johnstone’s letter to the PMU on 30/08/1916 stated that he saw ‘little or no prospect of any true harmony between the pentecostal workers and the A.I.M. owing to Mr Haig’s attitude which was very unfriendly towards them’.

### 2.5.2 Growing Frustration with Alexander Boddy

Burton must have felt exasperated at the length of time it was taking for him to get out to Africa. He had been with the PMU since June 1911. He had written in August 1913 about the sudden death of his father,<sup>160</sup> which must have added to his disquiet. It is clear that he was still at the time considering going to Africa with CoIM and had looked at their ‘principles and regulations’ and felt he could ‘broadly fall in’.<sup>161</sup>

In October 1913 he writes his first letter ever addressed to *all* the members of the PMU:

When I joined you in June 1911, it was with the clear understanding that we should have perfect liberty to act as we believe God to be directing. Your statement (as made by Mr. Small, & assented to by the rest of those present) was:- ‘We don't desire to become a mission board in the usually accepted sense of the term, but simply a link in assisting Spirit-filled men & women to the foreign mission field.’<sup>162</sup>

He protests to them that they had told Johnstone to pray as to whether he should be in London or at the Preston training base. Burton admits that he personally felt Johnstone would be better off in London.<sup>163</sup> However, after praying, Johnstone replied he would rather be in Preston. Burton then feels that the PMU council has ordered Johnstone to go to London against his prayerful decision; this affronts him. He describes the PMU’s initial request for Johnstone to pray as ‘nonsense’; Johnstone had prayed and decided and they had ignored his decision. He goes on to obstinately write with bellicose language, sparing no one’s feelings and aiming to worst Boddy. The letter is in full in appendix two.<sup>164</sup>

There are two issues that distressed Burton. The first, as mentioned above, is encroaching upon any individual’s autonomy to go directly to God in order to find out what his will for their life is. It is as though this first concern opens the floodgates for the second. Burton’s antagonism over Anglicanism and Boddy’s alliance within it gush out. He had never expressed them before to the PMU. PMU council member James Breeze saw Burton’s letter as ‘a most deplorable exhibition’, which was tantamount to a ‘personal attack upon elders who are worthy of our love and esteem’. Breeze stated he was ‘grieved and distressed’ as the

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<sup>160</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 21/08/1913.

<sup>161</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell 21/08/1913.

<sup>162</sup> Burton, letter to PMU, 16/10/1913. Emphasis his.

<sup>163</sup> Burton, letter to PMU, 16/10/1913.

<sup>164</sup> Burton, letter to PMU 16/10/1913.

‘insult and slander’ had come from ‘one who has been looked upon as the most brilliant, intellectually and spiritually of all the students’.<sup>165</sup>

Burton then writes to the editor of his local paper, the *Lytham Times*, reacting to a report of an address made by the curate of St. John’s Church. His letter is lengthy and states that he believes the curate is ‘not a member of the true church at all’, belonging only to the ‘visible church’ and that he needs to ‘get saved’ in order to belong to the ‘true church’. At the end of Burton’s letter, the editor of the *Lytham Times* writes: ‘(Our correspondent must excuse us having deleted several criticisms of Mr. Willoughby (the curate) and his religious principles, which were, in our opinion, calculated to stir up strife – Ed. L.T.)’<sup>166</sup>

Such belligerence towards Anglicanism could have come from his own childhood experience of it and his belief in its impotence. He certainly wrote much later on about the Anglican church building he attended. The stained glassed windows depicting the 12 apostles taught error concerning the true nature of apostolic ministry.<sup>167</sup> He comically taught that an apostle was not ‘one of those things you see in a church window with a Lancashire cheese thing around his head’, defining an apostle as a ‘messenger boy’.<sup>168</sup> As previously stated, the Archbishop of Canterbury confirmed him, yet he saw this as a confirmation ‘in sin’ and a ‘meaningless, powerless rite, in which I promised things I had no ability to perform’. Further, he states that neither he nor the clergyman who prepared him for this had been born again.<sup>169</sup>

Burton, at the end of 1913, hardly seems able to adapt to another culture, to compromise and tactfully deal with colonial authorities and lead in the planting of many churches; neither would he be competent, using Doering’s words, ‘to go in a humble and broken spirit; not

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<sup>165</sup> James Breeze, letter to Mundell, 21/10/1913. In the same letter Breeze states he had spoken with Myerscough who said he had told Burton he had made a mistake in writing such a letter.

<sup>166</sup> Burton, letter to the editor of *Lytham Times*, November 1913.

<sup>167</sup> Burton, *God’s Sent Ones*, 1. St. Mary’s, Reigate, does have 12 apostles portrayed on its stained glass windows; (ironically, it is very active today in world mission. See: ‘Welcome to St Mary’s Reigate,’ accessed 27/09/2012, <http://www.stmaryreigate.org>).

<sup>168</sup> Burton, ‘Testimony of an Apostle’.

<sup>169</sup> Burton, *My Experience*, 1. Nevertheless, he did see some value in religiously attending the church as he tells a story about a butcher in ‘our little Redhill town’ who had ‘given up going to church’ to do his accounts on a Sunday. He says, ‘although I was just a little fellow in a sailor’s suit at the time, it struck me as a terrible thing that men couldn’t have a time off once a week to go and have a time with the Lord to go and worship him’. See: Burton, audio recording, ‘Evangelism and Money’ accessed 07/01/2012, <http://www.brothermel.org/audio-video/92>.



expecting to force matters'. This is certainly how Boddy parsed the situation. Burton would have been among the first Pentecostals working with the CoIM.

Having received Burton's letter, Boddy replies to Mundell that 'the tone of W.P. Burtons [sic] letter shows that we should often have difficulties with him if we sent him out as our Representative'. Understatedly, Boddy points out that Burton had always known that he was a member of the PMU council and that his words 'lack Christian courtesy'. He added. 'I am quite sure that the Lord does not condemn me as this young man attempts to do'. Boddy 'takes courage' in the fact that 'the Lord practically commenced the Pentecostal Blessing in Great Britain at my Church - in my Parish Hall & vestry in answer to much prayer'. He concludes:

I do not see that any thing (sic) would be gained by discussing questions of my Church's ordinances. The language used in W.P. Burtons (sic) circular letter is to myself & my church are (sic) not becoming. I do not ask him to join the Church of England and have (sic) in Pentecostal circles always been glad to have fellowship with all who love the Lord Jesus.<sup>170</sup>

Boddy's controlled tone is striking in a movement that became known for 'fratricidal brawling',<sup>171</sup> in its primary days. Mundell must have written to Burton requesting that Burton states he recognises that God is guiding the PMU. Burton responds by expressing his concern about seeing reports from other missionaries who have had their nascent works 'ruined' by 'unwarranted interference from home committees'.<sup>172</sup>

Burton pugnaciously decides to take up another issue with the PMU; they had appointed Mrs Crisp as the first woman to be on their council at a meeting held on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1913.<sup>173</sup>

Burton is writing in October 1913, but from March 1913 Mrs. Crisp had been openly listed as

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<sup>170</sup> Boddy, letter to Mundell, 23/10/1913. Boddy would have been 59 in 1913.

<sup>171</sup> Robert Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 222. Robert Anderson was actually referring to American Pentecostals' 'aggressive impulses against one another', yet Burton talked of this tendency about the CEM in 1952; see: Burton, letter to Saunders, 23/03/1952.

<sup>172</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 24/10/1913. The fear of home committees is something that Burton carried into the organisational structure of the CEM, insisting that decisions were made by missionaries on the field. Burton in this letter again raises the issue over asking Johnstone to pray about London and Preston and then disregarding Johnstone's choice. Burton asks, 'If God led you to order Bro'. Johnstone to London, why did you first give him the choice? The two things are inconsistent, but we cannot lay the inconsistency at God's door'.

<sup>173</sup> MPMU no.4, 13/10/1913.

a PMU council member in issues of *Confidence*.<sup>174</sup> Although not officially a member of the PMU until October 1913, she was listed as being present at many PMU council meetings from December 1909 onwards.<sup>175</sup> It is unimaginable that Burton had only just realised the extent of her PMU council involvement. Prior to this, she had been regularly listed as running the PMU home for women missionary candidates.<sup>176</sup> She was well received in pentecostal circles and spoke at the convention meetings alongside Cecil Polhill, Smith Wigglesworth and Stephen Jeffries.<sup>177</sup> In July 1913, *Confidence* reports how a London newspaper had reported her interpreting a tongue at a Sunderland convention where Doering had been present. Both Doering and another person present recognised the Zulu phrase for 'be at rest' and Mrs. Crisp without any knowledge of Zulu had interpreted this accurately.<sup>178</sup> Mrs. Crisp's sermons were printed in *Confidence* on a regular basis.<sup>179</sup> Cox argues Pentecostalism would have died had women been disempowered.<sup>180</sup> Burton is undaunted:

Again I cannot believe that God led the P.M.U. to put a woman on the Council since it is written 'I suffer not a woman to usurp authority over the man'. If Sept. Confidence is correct, Mrs. Crisp is now over the brothers in China & India, & God did not guide in this. It seems to me that we are getting more & more like other systems. The spirit which was seen in the request of Israel 'Make us a king, to judge us like all the nations'. 1 Sam. 8.5. Indeed the majority of missionary societies are sufficiently scriptural to avoid putting women into authority over men.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> *Conf* 6:3 (March 1913): 61. She is also listed in subsequent issues as a member of the council. A month prior to this, Boddy had not only recommended a book written by Maria Beulah Woodworth-Etter, an American preacher, but also published an extensive extract from the book in *Conf* 6:2 (February 1913): 31-33.

<sup>175</sup> MPMU 20/12/1909; also listed present in numerous meetings after that including most of the meetings held in 1913.

<sup>176</sup> *Conf* 6:1 (January 1913): 22; she was still listed from March onwards as doing this as well as being a PMU council member.

<sup>177</sup> For example, in Swansea, as reported in *Conf* 6:1 (January 1913): 22. For summaries of the acceptance of women's ministry in early Pentecostalism, see: Anderson, *An Introduction*, 273-276; *Spreading Fires*, 271-276; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 158-176.

<sup>178</sup> *Conf* 6:7 (July 1913): 144.

<sup>179</sup> *Conf* 5:6 (June 1912): 128; her address at a Sunderland convention is summarised here, she is described by Boddy as a 'pleasant faced woman'; *Conf* 6:8 (August 1913): 162-163; this is an address given at a Sunderland convention; *Conf* 7:6 (June 1914): 106; admittedly this is after the letter under discussion was written.

<sup>180</sup> Cox, *Fire*, 138.

<sup>181</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 24/10/1913. Emphasis his. This is the date given on the handwritten letter. It cannot be correct as there are a number of responses that are written on the same day, or even the day before, as in the case of Harry Small who writes a handwritten reply on 23/10/1913. One has to assume that Burton put the wrong date on this letter and it was in fact written a few days prior to the 24/10/1913.

Burton's comments are indicative of the 'formidable theological and social hurdles' pentecostal women faced at the time.<sup>182</sup> Seeing Burton's letter Mrs. Crisp responds to Mundell:

May I also say that its contents have not greatly surprised me. One feels that God has allowed that which was in his character, in solution, to suddenly crystallise and become apparent that the Council might see how evidently, unfitted such an (sic) one is, to go forth as a representative of Our Holy and Blessed Lord. There are no fruits of the Spirit manifested, and such a spirit of lawlessness would only have brought havoc into the precious Spirit-filled party which is to accompany dear Miss Doering.<sup>183</sup>

Having given his opinion on Mrs. Crisp, Burton continues his letter, turning once again to Boddy; the full extract is shown in appendix three.<sup>184</sup>

Burton digs in his heels with another objection to Mrs. Crisp and perhaps lets out some of his deeper frustration saying that he longs 'for the day when I may leave all this sort of thing behind, & tell the Africans of full salvation for body soul & spirit, but I must be free to proclaim it on bible lines'. Burton is eager to get to Africa and is frustrated when discussing women's ministry. He finishes the letter off with what he would see as more idealistic news:

We have had several saved lately, & that is best of all, but also little boy healed of rupture, & a little girl of adenoid growths, large tonsils, bronchitis, & deafness besides other cases of such things as whooping-cough etc'.<sup>185</sup>

Pentecostal healings provide comfort for a frustrated Burton. Myerscough attempts some form of reconciliation in a seemingly irresolvable situation. He writes a two-page letter to Mundell acknowledging that Burton, his student and friend, is 'the most highly strung man I know & is also the most obedient man to the word of God as he sees it'. Myerscough does not excuse Burton for his tone, describing Burton's writing in the following way:

a very ill-concerted attack on others which is quite out of the Spirit. He being a junior ought to entreat his elders even when they are in error. We must be pitiful and

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<sup>182</sup> Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 158. Wacker, again in an American context, is referring here to more recent studies of early Pentecostalism, which suggest that the better known American women Pentecostals (such as Woodworth-Etter and Aimee Semple McPherson) were 'the exceptions that proved the rule'.

<sup>183</sup> Letter from Mrs Crisp to Mundell, 24/10/1913.

<sup>184</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 24/10/1913 (sic).

<sup>185</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 24/10/1913 (sic).

courteous even in pointing out errors & unfaithfulness to the word of God, this Burton has not been.<sup>186</sup>

Myerscough though, then points out the worth of Burton's points. It should be remembered what was said previously about Myerscough being well-known and carrying weight at the time:

The Truth only of things he names, will stand (however clumsily they are ministered) against us & I will humble myself under the mighty hand of God & pray for the blessings and power of former years. It will I am sure beloved be better to take a rebuke from a junior than to continue hindering the work of God through our traditions- (I need as much deliverance as any other & perhaps more so). It seems to me sometimes that the 'Leaders' of the movement have already settled the way things ought to 'go'. I shall not be surprised if God raises up a wild Ass free-with loose bands-who scorneth the multitude of the city neither regardeth he the crying of the driver Job 39/5-8.<sup>187</sup>

The reference to the ass is interesting, given Burton's recorded testimony where he sees himself as an ass needed by the Lord.<sup>188</sup> That recording was made many years after this, and Burton says it was after being rejected by a missionary society he looked in his Bible, feeling like an ass and found the verse saying the Lord had need of an ass. He would never have explained all the PMU politics on a public recording. One questions whether Burton had in mind Myerscough's picture of him as the free and wild ass, ignoring the 'crying of the driver'.

Given Burton's attack on Boddy and his perceived unbiblical practices, it is noteworthy how far Myerscough appeals for Burton's points to be considered. Critical of Burton's tone, the content nevertheless interrogates the PMU:

See thou make everything according to the pattern was the command of God to Moses. What shall we say my brethren concerning the pattern seen around us? And also our own? Is it uncompromising to the pattern as given in the New Testament?<sup>189</sup>

It is difficult to conceive that many would support Burton after his last two letters.

Myerscough, without defending Burton's arrogance, evinces loyalty to the friendship he has with him pointing out Burton's background:

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<sup>186</sup> Letter from Myerscough to Mundell, 26/10/1913. Emphasis his.

<sup>187</sup> Letter from Myerscough to Mundell, 26/10/1913. Emphasis his.

<sup>188</sup> Burton, 'My African Testimony'.

<sup>189</sup> Myerscough, letter to Mundell, 26/10/1913.

Our Bro. Burton parted company with his own family & friends (some of them missionaries & well known Christian workers) when he saw the Truth concerning the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. The freedom that the Lord has given him he prizes above all our esteem or help. This is of God. I grieve about the manner adopted & can find no justification for it, it is human. The things which he says- & which are the Truth- will stand up to us at the judgment seat of Christ 2 Cor. 5/10.<sup>190</sup>

Calling for weight to be given to Burton's points, Myerscough has really tried to assist Burton. Burton also impacted PMU council member Harry Small; Small writes to Mundell:

All I would say about it, at present is this, that such a communication should send us all on our faces before the Lord to ask ourselves if He has anything to say to us through it, putting aside the personal element there may be in it [...] I am afraid we are fast losing the 'waiting-on-the-Lord'-spirit that used to pervade the earlier meetings of the P.M.U. Council and which tended to keep us in the will of the Lord and in harmony with one another.<sup>191</sup>

Burton is influencing some council members. Nevertheless, Burton imperiously writes another six-page letter to all the PMU on 7<sup>th</sup> December. He has obviously received some letter from the council, but he is disturbed that they have not given him written reassurance of his position to act in freedom; he also again raises women's authority over men:

The members of the council desire me to recognize their individual responsibility to obey God. EXACTLY SO. I w'd have you recognize mine also, & it is just this point w'h. I am contending for. I desire you to supply me with the written recognition of the fact that I am, while under the P.M.U. free to obey God.<sup>192</sup>

Tactlessly, Burton goes into an unpleasant and personalised attack on women in authority; taking into account that Smith Wigglesworth had been named as a referee and that his wife had died earlier that year<sup>193</sup> the distastefulness of this comes across:

In nearly every full gospel assembly, the wife of some elder is an invalid. Mrs. Murdoch of Kilsyth, Mrs. Pollard of Bolton, Mrs. Moggs of York, Mrs. Smith-Wigglesworth dead, Mrs. Taylor of Bury dead. Mrs. Boddy & others. [...] When Mrs. Boddy tells the reporter, & hence the world, that she is awaiting God's time for healing, she mis-leads, for God's time is NOW. If these women would take their God-given place, the Lord would heal them [...] it is their duty to teach the younger women

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<sup>190</sup> Myerscough, letter to Mundell, 26/10/1913.

<sup>191</sup> Small, letter to Mundell, 23/10/1913.

<sup>192</sup> Burton, letter to Members of the PMU council, 07/12/1913. Emphasis his.

<sup>193</sup> For some understanding of Smith Wigglesworth's grief at the loss of his wife, see: Desmond Cartwright, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth*, 55-58.

Tit.2.3-4. concerning care of house, attitude to the husband, training of children etc. [...] while the women are trotting around the country interfering in work which is not theirs, their own special work is left in the background [...] I have to be silent, & when I desire to tell our elder women of these cases, they cannot, as a rule, help, as they are off to a committee-meeting, taking a meeting, or elsewhere in the man's place.<sup>194</sup>

Burton must have been asked by the council to apologise to Boddy. The full extract from the letter giving his response is seen in appendix four.

Burton might have realised he had gone too far in his tone and attitude with the PMU; in his next (shorter than average) letter to Mundell, Burton is pentecostal to a fault as he gives a recent healing story from Lytham: 'One man jammed his finger in an accident, leaving the finger top on a cart! But God has grown him a fresh top, including the nail, & his two first fingers are again the same length'. Such an account is not in keeping with the tone of his recent letters. Burton is buttressing his pentecostal credibility, still hoping to be a missionary sent by the PMU. He adds a final sentence to this letter saying if needed, he would be willing to come to London.<sup>195</sup>

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> December, Burton has 'a long talk' with his mentor, Myerscough. Unbeknown to him, as he is talking with Myerscough, so Sandwith is writing to Mundell about his prayer that the Lord would bring Burton to 'a spirit of brokenness (sic) and humbleness'.<sup>196</sup> On Christmas Eve, Burton writes to Mundell to express regret that he had written the way he had concerning the Church of England and that he was willing and ready to 'sail for Africa' as soon as Mundell or the CoIM would 'give him orders'.<sup>197</sup> Burton is more conciliatory and pragmatic, qualities which will be seen to be used many times once in Congo when dealing with institutional power.

As far as the PMU was concerned, this must have been too little and too late from Burton. In the following month it became clear that although Burton had influenced certain members of the PMU council, they closed ranks around Boddy. Boddy wrote a three-paged typed letter to

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<sup>194</sup> Burton, letter to Members of the PMU council, 07/12/1913. Given their recent support of Burton, one can only speculate at what Myerscough and Small must have thought on reading this. Emphasis his.

<sup>195</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 13/12/1913. This letter does not even mention any of the previous discussion.

<sup>196</sup> Sandwith, letter to Mundell, 23/12/1913. Sandwith continues, [...] the Lord knew all about Mr Boddy's connection with the Church of England when he selected Sunderland for the special outpouring of the Holy Spirit [...] it is not for our brother to set himself up as judge in this matter'.

<sup>197</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 24/12/1913.

the PMU responding more fully to Burton. In this letter, Boddy asserted he was ‘undenominational’ and was willing to respond to any suggestion to resign from the council, even though he had been one of the three founding members in his own house in January 1909, ‘especially if they were unanimous’. He also stated he ‘emphatically’ protested against Burton’s ‘outrageous language’ describing the Church of England as a ‘harlot church’ and that ‘such unholy bitterness breathed through the letters of W.P.Burton’ made him ‘more and more thankful for the Church of England, and the great liberty God has given me in it.’<sup>198</sup>

### **2.5.3 Burton Rejected by the Pentecostal Missionary Union**

Having seen Boddy’s letter in Lytham on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1914, Burton replies to the PMU council. For reasons unknown, he complains he has only 90 minutes to reply. In the reply he accuses Boddy of having a ‘petty small spirit’ and of telling a ‘deliberate lie’ each time he christens a baby and ‘declares him regenerate’. Burton adds ‘I therefore refuse to have fellowship with him’. Audaciously, he adds that he is willing to go to Africa being sent by the PMU and would only require three weeks’ notice to be ready.<sup>199</sup> The minutes of the next PMU meeting state:

it was unanimously resolved that the Council could not under existing circumstances consent to his being sent down by the P.M.U. as one of their Missionaries, and they re-affirm that the Council never has unduly interfered nor is it their purpose to unduly interfere with any of the Missionaries.<sup>200</sup>

Burton writes to Mundell acknowledging receipt of the PMU’s decision not to send him out to Africa, ‘I understand the cause for which I am rejected is that I have spoken the truth concerning pastor Boddy’ and goes on to say, ‘I grieve for the P.M.U.’<sup>201</sup> Burton had been trying to go out to Africa through the auspices of the PMU from June 18<sup>th</sup> 1911 through to February 10<sup>th</sup> 1914. Burton’s ‘grieving’ for the PMU is echoed over sixty years later by Hocken, who sees this episode as provoking the consequent inception of a ‘ready-made alternative focus for Pentecostal missionary zeal once doubts began to spread about the representative character of the P.M.U.’<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Letter from Boddy to the PMU, 29/01/1914.

<sup>199</sup> Letter from Burton to PMU, 09/02/1914.

<sup>200</sup> MPMU, No.2, 10/02/1914.

<sup>201</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 16/02/1914.

<sup>202</sup> Hocken, ‘Polhill,’ 38-39. Although Hocken, it will be shown later, never fully comprehended the delay in setting up the CEM even after Burton was in Congo.

The following week, Burton writes to Mundell asking about a reference from the PMU to show that he has not been rejected ‘through any dishonesty laziness or other wrongdoing (in order that my character may remain un-blemished)’. He adds:

P.S. Last Sun’ . morn’ . at "breaking of bread" Bro’ . Hardman (one of our elders) put off his spectacles in faith. While going home to dinner, his eyes suddenly became right, & in the afternoon bible-reading he was able to read without glasses quite well. Also a young woman in the evening ran out under conviction of sin (but couldn't reach the gate) but broke out crying, stopped, & was led around to an ante-room, & gloriously saved. Her father & mother also have been converted within the last 3 weeks.<sup>203</sup>

Burton is never slow to recount a healing story or sign of the pentecostal success of his ministry.

The whole CoIM venture was postponed indefinitely by Doering in February 1914. She wrote to Mundell after receiving some of Burton’s letters about his ‘disagreement’ with the PMU and said, ‘we are sure that God would have none set foot on Congo who had not brokenness of spirit’ and went on to ask that the PMU ‘delay’ sending Burton (and Johnstone).<sup>204</sup>

Burton must have felt frustration as his ideal choice, Salter, was not chosen and Johnstone, his far-from-ideal choice progressed to Africa quickly ahead of Burton. Johnstone’s waiting period was far shorter than Burton’s. He was on the Sunderland convention platform in June 1914;<sup>205</sup> on his way to Congo in July 1914 and writing letters from the SS Elizabethville that were being published in *Confidence*;<sup>206</sup> his letter of 6 November 1914 simply outlining his inland journey to arrive at Djoka Punda is given a full page in *Confidence*.<sup>207</sup> Johnstone reports of travel in Congo in *Flames of Fire (FF)* in December 1915 with a widescreen photo of himself standing next to ‘a native soldier’; there is another photograph in his report. These two photographs in Johnstone’s report make up half of the photographs published in this particular edition (the other two photographs being of other white missionaries and

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<sup>203</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 19/02/1914.

<sup>204</sup> Doering, letter to Mundell, 11/02/1914.

<sup>205</sup> *Conf* 7:6 (June 1914): 118.

<sup>206</sup> *Conf* 7:9 (September 1914): 177.

<sup>207</sup> *Conf* 8:1 (January 1915): 18.



missionary children).<sup>208</sup> About three years later Johnstone goes on furlough, around May 1917, with the reported intention of returning to set up ‘a special field’ for the PMU missionaries in ‘Central or East Central Africa’.<sup>209</sup>

## 2.6 Conclusion

Burton, after his baptism in the Spirit, had been keen to rush to Africa immediately and applied to various mission bodies. They circumvented his idealistic expectations and Burton tells how ‘vexed’ he was with being rejected; on one occasion telling the Lord he was ‘nothing but an ass’.<sup>210</sup> This was a kairotic moment. He could have demurred any calling to Africa. Burton opened his Bible searching for encouragement. He opened it randomly at the chapter where Jesus tells two disciples to go on ahead and find a donkey; if asked why they were taking it, they should answer, ‘The Lord has need of him’. On reading this, Burton prayed, ‘That’s sweet Lord. I might be nothing but an ass, others might not have need of me, but you have need of me’.<sup>211</sup> The idealistic reassurance that the Lord ‘had need’ of him was a requisite condition to overcoming further frustrations in working out the process of getting to Africa.

A superficial parsing of all the above only views Burton’s impetuosity and arrogance. This thesis is not the narrative of a frustrated demagogic curmudgeon; it is the narrative of a frustrated pentecostal idealist. Burton never could be a demagogue because, regardless of whether one agreed with his views or not, he was an idealist. The extent of his idealism and his personal emotional involvement is seen in his 1913 Christmas Eve letter. Burton admits to Myerscough, ‘the matters of the last three months’ had caused him to lose a stone in weight.<sup>212</sup> Myerscough’s previously mentioned description of him as ‘most highly strung’ was accurate. His reporting of his weight loss insinuates, regardless of its aptness or

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<sup>208</sup> *FF* 36 (March 1916): 11. His name is spelt as ‘Jansen’ under the photograph and at the end of the article he is called T.D. Johnstone; this had happened before in *FF* 21 (November 1914): 5 and 6; again there is still another variance on his name in a later edition, where he is referred to as F.S. Johnstone; see: *FF* (September 1916): 12. Interestingly, *FF* was the only periodical listed in the men’s PMU training home in Hampstead library signed over to Howard Carter from Mundell on 02/10/1922 (the inventory was 10 pages of typed goods): I give this information to show the kudos that Johnstone could be seen to be enjoying in contrast to Burton at this time. The Hampstead home was completely destroyed by a bomb from a German plane on 13/10/1940, see: *RT* 26:2 (20/01/1950): 3.

<sup>209</sup> *Conf* 10:3 (May-June 1917): 42.

<sup>210</sup> Burton, ‘Testimony of an Apostle’. There appears to be no way of finding out the exact date this incident took place. Burton says it took place in Wigan. He was in Wigan in August 1912, but this does not mean that this was the only time he was there; see: Burton, letter to Mundell, 14/08/1912.

<sup>211</sup> Burton, ‘My African Testimony’.

<sup>212</sup> Letter from Burton to Mundell, 24/12/1913.

otherwise, Burton's sincerity in writing all that he did concerning Boddy. He was writing to a council with people twice his age, far more church experience and challenging their views in an era where a younger generation was less prone to do this. The rightness of it is a moot point. Unequivocally, Burton saw the need for freedom to act in Africa without the constraints of a mission board in the UK impinging in any way upon that liberty. As long as such liberty was threatened, in his twenties he was always likely to meander off into tirades against women in authority and what he perceived as the perils of Anglicanism. His frustration towards the PMU unwittingly freed him to pursue his idealism free of the constraints of others such as Boddy. Little did he know in 1914, that he would go on to create a missionary board himself that would frustrate him half a century later on in his life.

Already this thesis is acting as a corrective to hagiographical writing portraying Burton as embryonic Pentecostalism's *wunderkind*. Burton was a man from a privileged background who engendered his own rejection by the most senior leaders in early British Pentecostalism. No one else in Britain would have been better positioned than the PMU to assist Burton's idealistic dream of becoming a pentecostal missionary in Africa. At the start of 1914 he was now frustrated and alone, yet still able to console himself with seeing a stream of healings and an idealistic belief he was 'an ass the Lord had need of'.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ESTABLISHED LEADER OF PENTECOSTAL MISSIONARIES (1915-1958)

#### Introduction

This chapter contends Burton was hardly excited by the romanticism of the pentecostal missionary call, only its effectiveness could enthuse him. During a year in South Africa among many missionaries, a local agent particularly impressed him. This chapter outlines how Burton used the PM as a means for entry into the Belgian Congo and for establishing a mission station at Mwanza, initially on their behalf. Burton became frustrated with the PM whose leadership was unclear concerning its objectives. Once Burton felt he was being used by it, he started the process for setting up his own mission in Congo. This chapter examines alongside a strained relationship with a pentecostal mission, Burton's development of a warm friendship with a Brethren missionary in Congo.

Burton's leadership emerges in this chapter. AOG Pentecostals in Britain had always shied away from ever conceding any 'figurehead' as a leader of the movement. In 1965, Dando illustrates this. He remarks how prominent personalities such as 'John Nelson Parr, Howard Carter, John Carter, Donald Gee, William Burton, James Salter and Leonard Jenkins' are all very different and not one of them can be seen as a 'figurehead' for AOG.<sup>1</sup> However, this chapter shows how Burton was to become more than just a prominent personality of the CEM. The earlier survey of hagiographical writing demonstrates he was to become the established leader and figurehead for missionaries living in Congo, and seen as such in Britain, South Africa and the U.S.A. Burton's idealistic agenda for indigenous church was ingrained into the CEM during the time covered by this chapter, but, frustratingly for him, never could be realised during these years.

#### 3.0 Leaving for Africa in Isolation

The eventual PMU disapproval of Burton actuated a turning-point empowering him to autonomously pursue his calling. Self-determination though, carried the price of isolation. Womersley writes, after an issue with Polhill,<sup>2</sup> 'Even his father and mentor in God, Thomas

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<sup>1</sup> RT 41:28 (09/07/1965): 7.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing I can find about this in the extant PMU records.

Myerscough, finally felt he could no longer support this young firebrand against these leaders and his hitherto warm and sympathetic friend Pastor John Nelson Parr also lost interest in the rebel'.<sup>3</sup> Burton risked becoming a *persona non grata* in the early historiography of Pentecostalism. He was, perhaps understandably, never mentioned in any issue of Boddy's *Confidence*. This exemplifies Wacker's point that friendship or animosity in first generation Pentecostalism could influence 'the historical imagination'.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.0.1 Salter 'the Brick'

It would be untrue to say that Burton was completely alone. He had already expressed his preference for Salter over Johnstone, as a prospective fellow-missionary. Burton had initially asked Salter in a Preston street whether he had ever considered Africa's need of the gospel.<sup>5</sup> Salter agreed he was ready to go.<sup>6</sup> Three months later, they met in a park in Shrewsbury and 'made a solemn and prayerful pact' to work together in Central Africa.<sup>7</sup> Burton voiced to Salter, 'you are the one for me'. Salter, unlike Burton, was certain of where they would work in Africa. Salter had been lucid about his call to work in Congo from as early as the winter of 1907-8 after attending lectures about Congo. This resulted in his offering of his life to God 'for the country'. Salter was confident from that moment that he would work with Burton, despite watching Burton 'make arrangements at least half a dozen times to go out with others'.<sup>8</sup> Burton would later appraise this friendship in 1922:

We have lived together, preached and studied and prayed together, worked and tramped and camped together; in tropical blazing sun, and tropical torrential rain Bro. Jimmy Salter has been by my side. I have nursed him back from the gates of death with fever, and he has done the same for me. We have shared our last meal together, and our last franc piece - not knowing where the next would come from. He has been my counsellor in perplexity, and my comfort in trouble. And I can never sufficiently thank God for calling so loyal and consistent a Christian friend to my side as a result of that chat that day in the street at Preston.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Wacker, 'Are the Golden Oldies,' 89. Although, Boddy was not writing a history *per se*, I believe the point still holds true, albeit for an 'editorial imagination'. Wacker uses the examples of Henry Tuthill, a friend of Charles Parham, who described Parham as the 'premier figure of the first generation' whereas Stanley Frodsham wrote about Parham's schools and revivals without mentioning Parham or 'even hinting' he existed.

<sup>5</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *CEMR* 431 (October 1972): 8.

<sup>7</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 35.

<sup>8</sup> *CEMR* 85 (Nov-Dec 1940): 559-560.

<sup>9</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 6.

In 1928, he encapsulated such feelings about Salter, telling him, ‘You’re a brick’.<sup>10</sup>

Salter was from a very different background to Burton. Born in Preston, he had worked in a mill as an orphan from the age of twelve, working eleven and a half hour days while living with his aunt to become an apprentice cobbler.<sup>11</sup> Salter would be seen by some as the more quintessential Pentecostal<sup>12</sup> and as such complemented Burton who had benefitted from relative wealth and a public education. Salter would prove to be a counterweight to the ‘rusher-forth’.

### 3.0.2 Preston Assembly in Perspective

With Salter, Burton had gained a friend who was not hungry for power, but in abandoning hegemonic missionary societies Burton had lost any financial patronage. Burton did what he would continue to do repeatedly throughout his life; he sold some of his artwork to raise money.<sup>13</sup> In selling black and white sketches he was able to purchase, for fourteen pounds,<sup>14</sup> his 3<sup>rd</sup> class ticket for Durban on board the S.S. Galeka on June 5<sup>th</sup> 1914.<sup>15</sup> Writing in 1940, Salter stated Burton was not only without financial backing but had left Preston ‘spiritually isolated and not permitted a farewell meeting in his own assembly’. He had prepared to take an engineering job ‘until the Lord opened the way for missionary work’.<sup>16</sup> In leaving the UK

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<sup>10</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 31/10/1928.

<sup>11</sup> CEMR 431 (October 1972): 4; Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers*, 243.

<sup>12</sup> Stephen Hunt, ‘Sociology of Religion,’ in *Studying*, eds. Anderson et.al., 181-183; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 264. Anderson describes how most PMU applicants were from working class backgrounds and had only received elementary or primary school education; he gives the example of an exception to this where a ‘fully qualified’ teacher was not required to do training and sent straight to China; Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 21, 173-175. The latter warn against taking this early trend into present times where ‘a new class of more affluent and educated people’ have been attracted to Pentecostalism.

<sup>13</sup> Burton, letter to Philip Myerscough, 22/04/1938; an example here of how in 1938 Burton sold sketches to pay for his fare from South Africa to Mwanza. This was at a stressful time in his life. Burton did find doing his artwork therapeutic. See: Burton, letter to Salter, 22/07/1934. He wrote to Salter in 1934 saying how much he was ‘enjoying illustrating Bro. Hodgson’s book’ in his ‘spare moments’; Burton comes across as needing to unwind from frustrations at times; earlier in 1934 he had admitted to the Salters that he had ‘frequent wakeful spells’ and ‘raided the pantry’. He told them that reading Spurgeon and eating dried apricots had become an alternative to that; see: Burton, letter to the Salters, 10/03/1934.

<sup>14</sup> This would be over eleven hundred pounds in today’s value: ‘UK inflation calculator,’ accessed 12/03/2016, [http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html](http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html).

<sup>15</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 36. Womersley adds that a lady gave the money that made up the fourteen pounds required for the fare. She is probably the same businesswoman from Bury that a source of Garrard’s refers to; see: Garrard, ‘History,’ 7, n.69. There is a certain irony that a successful business woman in 1914 Britain helped in this way, given Burton’s stance about women in ministry. The S.S. Galeka became a hospital boat in the First World War and in October 1916 was hit by a mine laid by a German U boat and declared a loss; nineteen died. See: ‘S.S. Galeka,’ accessed 03/10/2012, <http://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?12561>.

<sup>16</sup> CEMR 85 (Nov-Dec 1940): 559.

Burton was not sent, he simply went. Womersley romantically writes that Burton in his leaving had the knowledge that his ‘dear bishop Thomas Myerscough, and friend John Parr were now behind him in prayer, *along with Preston and other assemblies of loving and praying saints*’.<sup>17</sup> In 1959 Ruth Slade, a mission historian, was also drawn into the error of describing Burton being sent out by British Pentecostals.<sup>18</sup> Salter was not supported by any church in his initial going out either. He sailed a year later to South Africa writing how he ‘slipped out’ of the country ‘under conditions similar to those experienced by Brother Burton’.<sup>19</sup>

When Womersley wrote his 1973 hagiographical account, Preston, as a pentecostal church, had for many years been the administrative centre for the UK activities of the CEM and the church had sent several missionaries to Congo.<sup>20</sup> By 2005, official mission personnel are quoted as saying to the local press that the mission started not in Africa, but in Preston.<sup>21</sup> In *CEMR* in 2015, Preston is again referred to as ‘where it all started’.<sup>22</sup> Womersley’s writing misled theoretical writers, such as Hocken. Hocken simplistically writes that Burton’s issues with the PMU meant, ‘Thus began the Congo Evangelistic Mission, which was run from Preston by Myerscough, and which basically represented a mission founded and supported by one local assembly’.<sup>23</sup> The extent to which Preston did eventually support the CEM financially can be seen in such glimpses of information given by Burton when, for example, writing to Myerscough in April 1924, he thanks him for sending ‘£162.7.8 of which £39.8.7 is from the P.E.A. [Preston Evangelical Association]’;<sup>24</sup> more than three quarters of the support came from sources other than Preston in 1924.

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<sup>17</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 36. Emphasis mine.

<sup>18</sup> Ruth Slade, *English-speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908)* (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1959), 390. She writes that Burton and Salter were ‘sent out by the British Pentecostals’.

<sup>19</sup> *CEMR* 85 (Nov-Dec 1940): 560. An individual had surprised Salter by asking him for tea and giving him ninety sovereigns for his ‘outfit and passage money’. Salter had been told by Burton they could look for engineering jobs, but Salter spent just three days in South Africa before setting out for Congo with Burton.

<sup>20</sup> Atkinson, *In the Beginning*, 155. 26 names are listed, along with the dates, as being sent from Preston. The list starts with: ‘Mr and Mrs W.F. Burton – Congo – 1915-1971’.

<sup>21</sup> Nick Owens, ‘Out of Africa to Bring Hope’, *Preston Evening Post* (24/03/2005): 21. Owens citing here Ivor Pepper, he was the CEM secretary at that time in the Preston office.

<sup>22</sup> *CEMR* 946 (September 2015): 15.

<sup>23</sup> Hocken, ‘Polhill.’

<sup>24</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 19/04/1924.

The point of origin matters; whether Pentecost comes ‘from heaven’ or is an official US export provokes polemic.<sup>25</sup> The genesis of the first variety of Congolese Pentecostalism is significant. This is especially true when considering the import Burton attached to indigenisation. Gee, among others, sees Pentecostalism as ‘a spontaneous revival appearing almost simultaneously in various parts of world’.<sup>26</sup> Those who read into history through the lens of a theological understanding of divine direction overriding the will of man can see divine providence in Burton’s actions, whereas those without such a mindset could see a truculent man determined to reach Africa with or without official backing. This 1914 unofficial departure and isolation is noteworthy for future reference. Setting aside the supernatural versus natural causation views of history, this narrative will unequivocally show Pentecostalism’s development in Congo would have been delayed had Burton postponed going to Africa at this point in his life. Initiating something in Congo without a western sending church or agency only enriched Burton’s appreciation of local agency.

### 3.0.3 Pragmatism Developing on the 1914 Voyage to Africa

Six days after boarding S.S. Galeka, Burton is keen to maintain relationship. He loquaciously narrates to Myerscough, with no sign of strain, about singing next to someone playing the piano only ‘three hours down the Thames, ‘What will you do with Jesus’.<sup>27</sup> He adds, “‘It was noised that He was in the house’” and continues with stories of healing and how he was one of only four people (out of 360) who were not sick when they hit rough seas.<sup>28</sup> Burton unhesitatingly effuses how he convinced a ‘P.B.’<sup>29</sup> that healing was for today and how the ‘P.B.’ himself was preaching it by the end of the day; how a young Dutch chauffeur, who was a ‘backslider’, was restored through Burton talking with him; how a ‘young colonial’<sup>30</sup> knelt on the deck and ‘gave his heart to Jesus’ and how Burton found a bathroom in which to baptise him; how the ‘rowdy, gambling, swearing clique laid by their cards to ‘talk religion’ till 2am’; how the Irishman who shared his cabin had been scoffing at religion, but Burton woke to find him praying. It could be seen that Burton is using his stories here to re-ignite

<sup>25</sup> van der Laan, ‘Historical Approaches,’ 202.

<sup>26</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 3

<sup>27</sup> Albert B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, had had a song published with this title in 1905. The refrain of this song reflects the direct idealism of Burton’s evangelistic stance: ‘What will you do with Jesus? Neutral you cannot be; Someday your heart will be asking, “What will He do with me?”’. See: ‘Timeless Truths’ accessed 14/03/2106,

[http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/What\\_Will\\_You\\_Do\\_with\\_Jesus\\_Simpson/](http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/What_Will_You_Do_with_Jesus_Simpson/).

<sup>28</sup> Letter from Burton to Myerscough, 11/06/1914 per ‘Ocean Mail’ from Las Palmas. Emphasis his.

<sup>29</sup> P.B. would stand for Plymouth Brethren.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *LRE* (August 1914): 18, which refers to ‘a young colonel’.

Myerscough's confidence in him. Even though Burton knew this letter was for Myerscough's eyes only and would not be seen by Boddy, he could not resist portraying 'the young curate', who was the ship's chaplain, as 'very nice', but adding the clause, 'but he gives us a wide berth'.<sup>31</sup> The pentecostal passion expressed to Myerscough can be seen as genuine idealism rather than merely political ploy when he expresses in another letter his desire to see 'the whole ship on fire with the Gospel by Cape Town'.<sup>32</sup>

Burton's affability towards Myerscough transpired to be an epistolary triumph. Myerscough accepted responsibility for forwarding gifts received for Burton and later became the first in a line of CEM secretaries based in Preston.<sup>33</sup> Adept at persuasion, Burton, 'the firebrand' and 'the free and wild ass' can equally be seen as Burton, 'the pragmatist'. He repeatedly displays pragmatism in Congo. The coincidence of pragmatism with primitivism was a trait of many first-generation Pentecostals.<sup>34</sup>

Notwithstanding the rekindled cordiality with Myerscough, Burton's rift with the PMU was not so easy to repair. Salter did not leave when Burton left for South Africa but continued his studies in Preston with Myerscough. Salter only wrote to the PMU asking to join Burton in South Africa at the end of 1914. They refused to send him to be with Burton 'as a P.M.U. missionary'. The minute acknowledged that Salter had 'much attachment' to Burton with their having been 'associated in Christian service prior to Salter entering the Preston Bible School'.<sup>35</sup> Salter replied he was going and asked when he should leave the school. The PMU

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<sup>31</sup> Given the established variety of Burton's stories, I have used the letter to Myerscough here, rather than the account in Moorhead, which was taken from notes from a talk he gave in London on March 14<sup>th</sup> 1921; seven years after the events, there are differences in the telling of the stories; cf. Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 8-9.

<sup>32</sup> *LRE* 6:11 (August 1914): 18. This is taken from a letter from Burton to Mrs Margaret Cantel, in London.

<sup>33</sup> Myerscough continued in this role, which later became more formalised, until 1932.

<sup>34</sup> Grant Wacker, 'Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish' in *Religion and American Culture: A Reader*, ed. D. Hackett (New York: Routledge, 2003), 471. Wacker sees primitivism, which he describes as having a 'powerfully destructive urge wanting to smash all human-made traditions in order to return to a first century world where the Holy Spirit alone reigned' and pragmatism, which he portrays as 'doing whatever was necessary in order to accomplish the movement's purposes', as two character traits that the pioneer generation of Pentecostalism evidenced 'at the same time without compromise'. Wacker wrote of 'a persistent primitivism in rhetoric and spiritual matters' running alongside a 'decidedly pragmatic emphasis'. Although outside of the American context, Burton fits in with Wacker's categories of primitivism and pragmatism. It has already been seen that this pragmatism included the use of the tools of modernity such as magic lantern slides without embracing modernity itself. See also Dony K. Donev, *Pentecostal Primitivism Preserved* (Sofia: Spasen Publishers, 2012), 20. For a similar perspective, albeit looking at Fundamentalism rather than Pentecostalism, see: D. Abrams, *Selling the Old Time Religion: American Fundamentalists and Mass Culture, 1920-1940* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

<sup>35</sup> MPMU No.9, 19/11/1914.



responded by saying he should ‘terminate his connection’ with Myerscough’s school that same month.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.1 South Africa

Burton left the UK believing he could well be a missionary in South Africa, but quickly concluded there were many pentecostal missions already there.<sup>37</sup> Four years later, Burton contrasted South Africa with Congo, and at the time acknowledges local agency:

In South Africa, we hear of the brothers working a ‘needy field,’ when perhaps he ministers to 2000 or 3000 natives, and other missionaries are only ten to fifteen miles away. We hear of the Salvation Army, Methodists, Pentecostal people, and two or three other denominations, all working among 3000 natives, and yet this is described as a ‘needy field.’ [...] For the scores of whites and scores upon scores of native gossellers in South Africa, the Congo has so painfully few, that there is absolutely no comparison.<sup>38</sup>

Burton’s motivation in going to Africa is consistently to reach a ‘needy field’. Given this idealism and his assessment of the South African scene, as long as he remained there he could only be frustrated. Nevertheless, South Africa provided useful training that he could never have received in Preston. In 1969, he stated South Africa had taught him both ‘how to be a missionary’ and, showing the building up of frustration added, ‘incidentally, also how not to be a missionary’.<sup>39</sup>

#### 3.1.1 Elias Letwaba Impresses Burton

Burton writes from Johannesburg to Myerscough recounting stories of healing and salvation through his ministry, as he continues to do throughout his life. Further, he refers to the ministry of a ‘native evangelist’, Elias Letwaba, who baptises his converts in water and they

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<sup>36</sup> MPMU No.4, 10/12/1914.

<sup>37</sup> For more on the missions in South Africa see: I.Hexham and K.Poewe-Hexham, ‘South Africa’ in Burgess et.al., *New International*, 227-228. The latest mission being the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFM); it was founded the previous year (October 14, 1913), but had its roots going back to Daniel Bryant, sent as John Alexander Dowie’s emissary from 1903. (Burton refers to him as ‘Overseer Bryant, of the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa’ in *When God Makes a Pastor*, 31). Bryant joined forces with two South Africans who ‘had corresponded with Dowie’: Petrus L. le Roux (a student of Andrew Murray) and Johannes Bucher. In 1908 John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch joined them. A. A. Cooper, an English sailor who had been converted by Rodney ‘Gipsy’ Smith’s 1905 mission to Cape Town joined with Charles William Chawner, a Canadian pentecostal missionary who had arrived in 1907; these two along with others formed the nucleus of the Assemblies of God of South Africa around 1909. George Bowie had come from America in 1909 and founded the PM in 1910, being joined by Eleazer Jenkins ‘a product of the 1904 Welsh Revival’ who together in 1910 founded the Full Gospel Church of South Africa.

<sup>38</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 110-112. See also *RFWFPB* 13 (21/07/1918): 3.

<sup>39</sup> Burton, *Testimony*.

mostly come up out of the water speaking in tongues, adding, ‘and I genuinely believe they receive the Holy Spirit’.<sup>40</sup> Burton is quickly exposed to an African leader who immediately impresses him with his very pentecostal ministry. This relationship was to continue and 19 years later Burton wrote Letwaba’s biography, the only person to do so.<sup>41</sup> Letwaba had, in the first instance, approached Burton to question him about law and grace and then later on about church authority.<sup>42</sup> Burton recognises his part in Letwaba’s success when he states that Letwaba’s experiencing ‘a wonderful revival’ was ‘the result’ of his own ‘long talk’ with him.<sup>43</sup>

After having spent nineteen years with the Bapedi Lutherans,<sup>44</sup> Letwaba had encountered Pentecostalism at meetings in Johannesburg held by John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch.<sup>45</sup> In Letwaba’s biography Burton states that Lake and Hezmalhalch had left Indianapolis in April 1908 and, perhaps thinking of his own history, pointedly adds, ‘There was absolutely no organisation behind these men’.<sup>46</sup> In spite of the space given above to the PMU, it must be stated that it was not at all unusual for early pentecostal missionaries going to South Africa to be strikingly independent in their outlook.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 10-11.

<sup>41</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*. Other missionaries, such as John G. Lake referenced their impressions about him, but never took the time Burton did in writing his biography; for example Lake admitted to not having faith to pray for a baby with a broken neck, but Letwaba did and the baby was healed, see: <http://healingandrevival.com/LakeLetwaba.htm>, accessed 15/03/2016.

<sup>42</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 11.

<sup>44</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 22-23. (The Pedi people being one of South Africa’s larger people groups.) Burton’s tirade against christening at this point in the biography is reminiscent of his thoughts expressed over Boddy over the same subject in the PMU correspondence. For example, he writes concerning their practice of christening babies, ‘They believe that they are Christians and on the road to heaven, when actually they are sinners, and on the road to hell: condemned already, without Christ and without hope in the world.’

<sup>45</sup> Letwaba did not experience baptism in the Spirit until February 1909 in Bloemfontein. For a succinct analytical biography on Letwaba, see: Allan Anderson, *Spreading*, 174-177; also in a hagiographical style see the account in Gordon Lindsay, *John G. Lake: Apostle to Africa* (Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1981), 41-52. Burton is not mentioned in Lindsay’s account.

<sup>46</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 30-31.

<sup>47</sup> Peter Watt, *From Africa’s Soil: The Story of Assemblies of God in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: Struick, 1992), 19. Peter Watt writes about the early pentecostal missionaries who arrived from around 1908 onwards: ‘They were hardy pioneers – strongly independent people with tough minds [...] Many of them came [...] without any promise of support because they believed the Lord would care for their needs [...] without the backing of sending organisations because their hearts were aflame with a passion to win the lost for Christ’. He adds that they did not intend to cooperate with each other, but ended up doing so because of government pressure and also ‘out of the need for fellowship’.

Burton might have felt alone with his tough-minded earnestness when corresponding with the PMU in 1913, but in South Africa it appears as though he would more easily find kindred spirits. There is a further parallel with Lake and Hezmalhalch; Burton on the S.S. Galeka had followed in their footsteps as they too had earlier preached to a captive audience on the deck and in the dining room while sailing for Africa.<sup>48</sup>

Burton's admiration for Letwaba in his letter to Myerscough and his biography, all within a colonial culture, reveals Burton's future willingness to partner with local agency.

Contrastingly, Lake in 1909 wrote about the level of support needed for missionaries sent to South Africa from America:

Considering everything, living is about as twice as high as it is in America. We cannot live on the food the African people are accustomed to. If we did, we would all die. We are compelled to live as we did in America. People cannot change their manner of life suddenly in this respect.<sup>49</sup>

Lake continued expressing his views on racial matters in order to attract the sort of missionary he felt was needed for South Africa:

we heartily welcome *real missionaries*, but they cannot come to Africa with the thought of a lot of "brand new American ideas" to teach the natives. One of the curses of American missionaries is that they teach race equality. Now the African native is a very different man from the American Negro. The African man is a heathen. He does not wear anything but a blanket until he is taught and Christianized.<sup>50</sup>

Letwaba's story, the Lutheran who met the Pentecostals and became a key leader, would be echoed in the Shalumbo narrative, the Brethren convert who met the Pentecostals and became a key leader (chapter five). Burton concludes the Letwaba biography, 'We have followed the life of a little black boy, growing amid many handicaps, and much unfriendliness from the white race, into a man charged with divine life and love'.<sup>51</sup> The 'unfriendliness' derived from teaching on curses being promulgated in white circles.<sup>52</sup> Burton did not shield himself

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<sup>48</sup> Maxwell, *African Gifts*, 38. This is referring to their 1908 voyage.

<sup>49</sup> *Pent 1:7* (June 1909): 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Pent 1:7* (June 1909): 3. This is cited by Allan Anderson in 'The Dubious Legacy of Charles Parham: Racism and Cultural Insensitivities among Pentecostals,' *Pneuma*, 27:1 (Spring 2005): 61.

<sup>51</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 121.

<sup>52</sup> Such as 'The Curse of Ham'; see: D.M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham* 170-171. This teaches that Noah cursing Ham caused Ham's descendants to be black and more given to manual labour, thus furnishing the world with a supply of slaves. I found notes by Burton, dated 1950, in his Bible refuting this teaching with over thirty biblical references written in 21 lines of small print. As one would expect he refers to verses such as

completely from the osmotically-active colonial zeitgeist. In the biography he included ‘approving’ references to Letwaba’s character from those who worked with him in South Africa, one such ‘approval’ is recorded as, ‘He’s a white man in all but skin.’<sup>53</sup>

### 3.1.2 ‘Ethiopian’ Churches

Independent churches that seceded as reactions to white missions’ dominance of African peoples were dubbed ‘Ethiopian’; Ethiopia had been the only African country to successfully defy European colonialism by defeating Italy.<sup>54</sup> While Burton records positively, ‘all shades of colour and all degrees of the social scale mingled freely in their hunger after God’<sup>55</sup>, he also castigates the ‘Ethiopian Movement’ not only for ‘outdoing the Anglicans and Catholics in their ornate ceremonies’ but also for teaching ‘freedom from the European rule’ and singing ‘excitedly of such themes as “Africa for the African”’.<sup>56</sup> Burton shifts the blame for this as he reckons the rise of ‘the Ethiopian movement’ lies clearly at the door of the ‘powerless, lifeless ministry of formal white teachers, whose worship is not according to the Scriptures’, and so ‘turn away thousands of natives [...] in disgust’.<sup>57</sup> This Ethiopian spirit he sees as producing an attitude where the missionary is expected to ‘shoulder ALL responsibility and carry no authority’.<sup>58</sup>

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Galatians 3:28, ‘no racial distinctions in Christ’, and Acts 17:26, ‘and hath made of one blood all nations of men’. His thorough knowledge of biblical references enables him to further include such verses as Proverbs 26:2: a ‘causeless curse shall not come’. Furthermore, precisely on this paper, Burton mentions Exodus 20:5, which in his Newberry Bible reads, ‘I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the children unto the third and fourth generation’. His note to show that this verse cannot be applied in support of the ‘curse of Noah’ is typical of his calculating mind, ‘B.C. 2350 to A.D. 1950 = yrs 4300 - 172 generations’.

<sup>53</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 100.

<sup>54</sup> A. Anderson and E. Tang, ‘Independency in Africa and Asia,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1914-c.2000*, ed. Hugh McLeod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 109. The authors add that resistance to white authoritarian measures were a common cause for secession and set a pattern for the next century in southern and western Africa.

<sup>55</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 32.

<sup>56</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 84. Anderson also comments on this in *Spreading Fires*, 177. Burton does add that they also sing, ‘Drive all white men into the sea’.

<sup>57</sup> Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, 83-84.

<sup>58</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 12. Emphasis his. Alma Doering in a similar vein, sees European power as creating difficulties, in this instance for the Congolese, when she writes in 1915 of the ‘Belgian atrocities claiming annually for twenty years one half million lives - the mutilated children and burnt villages not included [...] is the contribution of so-called superior peoples toward Africa’s emancipation.’ In ‘Leopard Spots or God’s Masterpiece?’ in *Conf* 8:8 (August 1915): 154-155.

### 3.1.3 Mistakes and Quinine

Burton viewed his time in South Africa as saving him from many ‘mistakes and difficulties’ in Congo; he mentions ‘the advice of Bros. Dugmore, le Roux and others’.<sup>59</sup> Despite the seeming arrogance displayed in the PMU correspondence, Burton now shows signs of humility; he writes from Johannesburg to Myerscough that he understands ‘the newcomer makes a lot of bungles’, but adds that South Africa is enabling him gain ‘experience from other people’s bungles’ rather than his own.<sup>60</sup> One wonders whether those ‘bungles’ were in his mind when in the same letter he quickly moves on to the subject of missionaries refusing to take quinine as a prophylactic for malaria. The debate over faith to trust in God for health and whether taking quinine contradicted that faith was to provide polemic for future missionaries to Congo. In this letter he writes of the AFM and PM, which has 33 graves ‘of splendid men and women who refused quinine and died’.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.2 The 1914 Pentecostal Mission Journey to Congo

George Bowie had preached to over a thousand in Johannesburg in April 1914.<sup>62</sup> Bowie, Edward Richardson, and S.M. Ulyate of the PM left South Africa by boat to German East Africa to explore potential mission sites in Central Africa in July 1914.<sup>63</sup> Edward Richardson who had previously worked with his wife, Julia, in East Africa caught malaria and died along with one of their ‘Christian boys’, Johane, in September.<sup>64</sup> Julia Richardson had last seen her husband in July 1914 in Chicago as he had preceded her with the PM party with the plan of ‘invading the Congo’; she states she never heard any more news about him until getting the

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<sup>59</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 7. For more details on le Roux and his connection to and presidency of the AFM, see: Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 79-81.

<sup>60</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 11.

<sup>61</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 12.

<sup>62</sup> *Conf* 8:6 (June 1915): 115. He had given the opening address at a large pentecostal convention in Johannesburg with over a thousand present, it was reported that over one hundred were baptised in the Spirit with speaking in tongues and that the ‘power of God at times swept through and that it was almost impossible to minister the word’; nevertheless, in this atmosphere Bowie fell ill with blackwater fever and a doctor was reported as saying that it would ‘take a miracle’ for him to recover. The fact that he did recover is seen as a ‘miraculous healing’, according to this report in *Confidence*.

<sup>63</sup> The outbreak of war on August 4<sup>th</sup> meant they had to very quickly proceed to Congo; see: Burton, *God Working*, 4. I found the initials for Ulyate from *PE* 318-319 (13/12/1919): 8. No other writers mention his initials and he is simply known as Ulyate. In this Ulyate gives a report of seeing a ‘sister Stevens’ raised from the dead.

<sup>64</sup> *CE* 72 (26 December 1914): 4. Julia Richardson gives the sad account of receiving the news of her husband’s death on September 3<sup>rd</sup>; after starting with a fever on the island of Kwijivi in Lake Kivu, he went on to a further five days of journeying before he ‘fell asleep in Jesus’. She states, ‘It seems as if with every attempt to enter the interior some lives are laid down’.

news in October 1914 of his death.<sup>65</sup> Julia was to later go to the destination her husband failed to reach.

After Edward Richardson's death, Bowie and Ulyate continued their thousand mile 'tramp' reaching the Congo River at Kongolo. Ulyate was very ill with fever at this point and Bowie was keen to get him back to South Africa as soon as possible; he had already lost Richardson. They met M.F. Zentler<sup>66</sup> who then with Bowie, left a convalescing Ulyate and made the journey as far as Mwanza. The chief, Mwanza Kazingu<sup>67</sup> allowed them to pick a hill in his area for a mission station and they chose Kayembe Hill, the Hill of the Lions at Mwanza.<sup>68</sup> Bowie and Zentler, unaware of lions in the area, slept that night on the hill under the stars on their 'camp cots'.<sup>69</sup> They left without building any house, but instructed where a house should be built to welcome forthcoming new missionaries.<sup>70</sup> Burton later praised Bowie and Zentler for believing Mwanza was the best place to start from, saying that three hundred miles each way to the north, south and west there wasn't 'a village with a gospel testimony [...] or who knew the name of the Lord Jesus'.<sup>71</sup> The east was different with the Open Brethren having done 'a wonderful work' through the likes of 'Dan Crawford and John Alexander Clarke'.<sup>72</sup>

Zentler, German-born, was taken as a prisoner of war in Stanleyville,<sup>73</sup> but Bowie and Ulyate returned to South Africa.<sup>74</sup> There Bowie made 'an earnest appeal for men to take the Gospel

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<sup>65</sup> *LRE* 14:1 (Oct 1921): 20. The militaristic language used by missionaries in Congo is not unique to Congo missionaries; for more on a general outlining of missionary language and views see: Anderson, *An Introduction*, 213.

<sup>66</sup> M.F. Zentler, had been born in Germany, but had grown up in England. He was an Open Brethren who established a mission station at Mulongo, on the eastern bank of the Lualaba; see: Burton, W.F.P., *Honey Bee: Life Story of a Congo Evangelist* (Johannesburg: D.Fischer, 1959), 10 and *CEMR* 329 (April 1964): 15-17. In the latter are extracts of a letter from Zentler to Womersley where he writes about his initial contacts with Bowie. (There is currently a hospital at Mulongo run by a Congolese Brethren doctor, Ngoie Yumba Serge who has a good knowledge of Brethren mission history).

<sup>67</sup> Womersley spells this Kajingu, I use Burton's spelling here. See: Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 43.

<sup>68</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 4.

<sup>69</sup> *CEMR* 274 (September 1959): 6.

<sup>70</sup> *CEMR* 274 (September 1959): 6. Burton writes here that this was to be a 'mud-and-wattle house'; this is significant to note given that Bowie later claimed the house as having been built by the PM.

<sup>71</sup> There were ten thousand within three and a half kilometres and over two hundred and fifty thousand within sixty kilometres, see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 20.

<sup>72</sup> Burton, *My Personal Testimony*. Crawford will figure below. For more on Clarke, see: 'African Linguist', *Brisbane Courier*, 13/08/1932: 11. This article puts the number of Baluba to be two million. Clarke's later translation of the New Testament is acknowledged by Burton in Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 33.

<sup>73</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 25.

<sup>74</sup> Ulyate died a year later, never shaking off the malaria he had contracted on that journey; see: Burton, *God Working*, 4.

to Mwanza'.<sup>75</sup> Burton and Salter heard the reports from Bowie and Ulyate (who was still ill) and they had realised that they could not travel to Congo as independent missionaries. They knew they had to go 'nominally' under the umbrella of the PM, as 'independent missionaries' could 'expect difficulties' once in the Belgian colony.<sup>76</sup> They joined up as travelling companions with the PM delegation of Joseph Blakeney and George Armstrong.<sup>77</sup>

### 3.3 Burton's Journey to Congo

Just over twelve months after leaving the UK Burton set off from South Africa with Blakeney for Congo on June 30<sup>th</sup>, leaving Mary Blakeney in the Bethel Pentecostal Missionary home in Johannesburg, going a full week ahead of Salter and South African George Armstrong.<sup>78</sup> Armstrong, when he did leave with Salter, also left his wife behind. The wife staying behind while the husband left was repeating the Richardsons' pattern. The staggered setting off was intended to reduce accommodation expenses in 'expensive' Elisabethville while Burton and Blakeney cleared their goods through customs.<sup>79</sup> Finance was lacking for Burton and Salter and they were aware of it when setting off. Burton enumerates some comments other Pentecostals were giving him at the time: a 'forlorn hope', while another who was 'more favourably inclined, wrote strongly, urging them not to venture forth before the formation of a strong home base, for the maintenance of the testimony'. Burton idealistically added, 'It was useless to remind him that though they had no human organisation to back them, they had all the promises of God'.<sup>80</sup> The reference to 'no human organisation' shows how vulnerable the whole enterprise was; there was no missionary society formed, simply an informal agreement with Myerscough in Preston to pass on gifts through Bowie and the PM.

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<sup>75</sup> CEMR 274 (September 1959): 5.

<sup>76</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 19.

<sup>77</sup> Blakeney's Zulu was noteworthy; see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 25; Armstrong was a carpenter and known as 'Daddy' by the rest of the younger members of the party, see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 18.

<sup>78</sup> WW 12:9 (September 1915): 7. Blakeney's wife said she intended to join the party once 'God opened the way'. Before she had married Blakeney she had been called by God to Central Africa; this call was frustrated initially, but became even stronger in 1917; see: WE (19/05/1917): 13. They eventually moved to North East Congo to establish a mission station in 1921; see: PE 448-449 (10/06/1922): 13.

<sup>79</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 19.

<sup>80</sup> CEMR 55 (July-August 1935): 931.

Figure 7

Salter, Burton, Armstrong and Blakeney

CAM archives: used with permission



Burton's send-off from Johannesburg was in stark contrast to his setting off from England. He wrote of about one hundred and fifty being at the train station who were 'waving and cheering, crying and handshaking'.<sup>81</sup> Included in those waving was AFM South African president, le Roux.<sup>82</sup> At the same time as the party set off for Congo, Ernest Hooper of the PM publicised the enterprise as a 'work opening up in the Belgian Congo' alongside other PM operations.<sup>83</sup>

The journey to Mwanza involved frustrating delays: trekking eleven days and then waiting fourteen days for a riverboat at Bukama, and eventually going with Belgian soldiers on barges. At Bukama Armstrong caught malaria and refused to take quinine.<sup>84</sup> The malaria

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<sup>81</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 19.

<sup>82</sup> Programme for the Funeral of W.F.P. Burton, Fairview Assemblies of God, South Africa 1971. The programme mentions the send-off, Burton was buried in South Africa and his links with South Africa figure prominently in the programme. The programme also adds that 'Bro. C. Welsh – pastor of the A.F.M. Tabernacle' was there too.

<sup>83</sup> WW 12:9 (September 1915): 7. He lists Transvaal, Natal, Swaziland and Cape Colony.

<sup>84</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 9; Burton, 'Recorded notes,' 1 cited by Garrard, 'History,' 24.

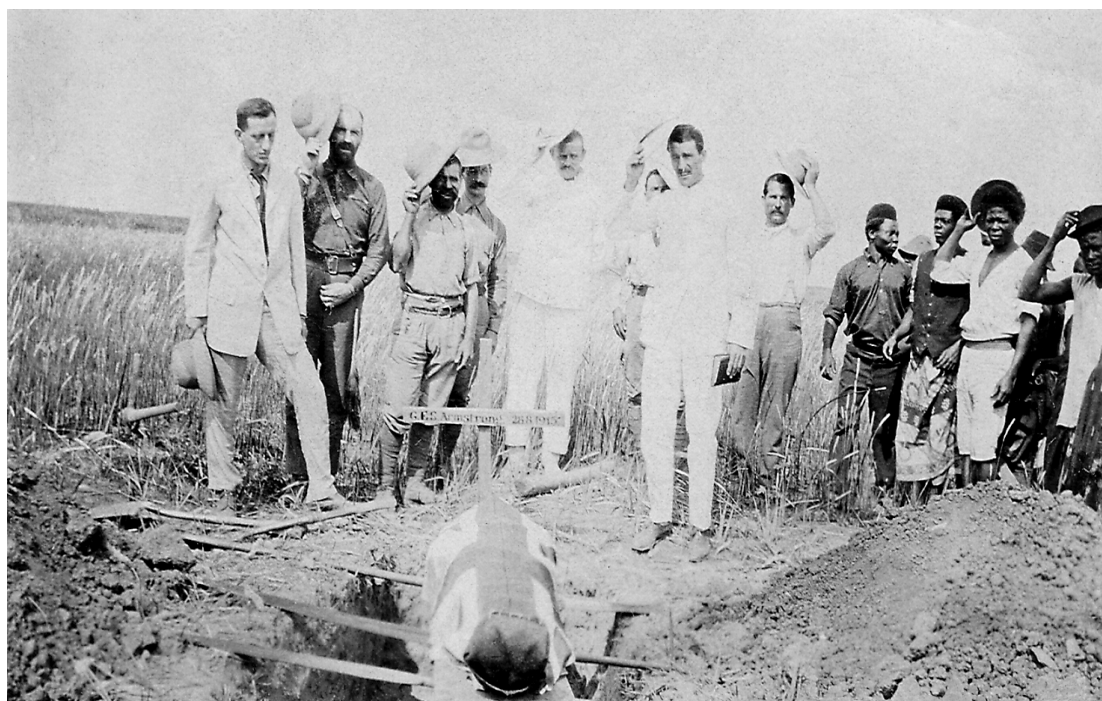


turned to blackwater fever and he soon died, even after accepting to take quinine shortly before his death.<sup>85</sup>

Figure 8

‘Daddy’ Armstrong’s Funeral

CAM archives: used with permission



Salter was so ill with malaria Armstrong’s grave was left open believing he would die soon.<sup>86</sup> An ‘English officer’ on board the river steamer on which they had been travelling, advised Burton to return home or they would all die. Burton’s idealism comes out as he went off the boat for the night and prayed. He had his call to continue confirmed by God.<sup>87</sup> Frustration came after this as he became ill himself on the twenty-one-mile final ascent up the hills to Mwanza. Salter was at this time being carried in a hammock and Burton lost consciousness and fell. He recounts how suddenly a warm glow came over him and he felt as though warm water was being poured all over him. He got to his feet healed and arrived at Mwanza feeling

<sup>85</sup> WE 114 (06/11/1915): 4. Mary Blakeney writes here of receiving the cable saying Armstrong had died. She adds that Armstrong had a wife and two sons, but one son had already died before him doing missionary work.

<sup>86</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 11-12; Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 24. Armstrong was buried under an isolated palm tree at Kaleka.

<sup>87</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 11-12. Burton reports how he reasoned here, if ‘thousands of men were facing [death] in the trenches of Flanders for an earthly king. Surely he could face it for the King of kings?’

fresher than when he had started the journey.<sup>88</sup> He later met a woman in Highbury who asked him what he had been doing at eight in the morning on the first of September 1915; she had felt compelled to pray for him at that time. The times matched.<sup>89</sup>

### 3.4 Early Years at Mwanza

Burton tells how on the very first day first day at Mwanza, he noticed in the crowd ‘an old giant of a man who was bent over and walking with the help of two sticks’. Burton immediately thought of the text ‘These signs shall follow those who believe’. He went up to ‘old Tentami’ and placed his hands on his head and prayed for him. By the end of his prayer Tentami’s back ‘went straight up’. Burton tells how the watching crowd ‘all hiccoughed’ in amazement. Burton saw this as ‘permitted by God to inaugurate our testimony in the Congo’.<sup>90</sup>

In spite of such an inaugural manifestation of pentecostal power through Burton, his leadership of missionary activity there was ambiguous for the first several years. This was partly because Burton and Salter never intended to remain at Mwanza after their journey with Blakeney and Armstrong. Rather, according to a 1924 letter to the Home Council, they had intended to help the men of the PM settle and then move on somewhere else themselves.<sup>91</sup> Burton said they soon discovered ‘evidences of cannibalism around Mwanza and Blakeney had had enough of it’.<sup>92</sup> Only a month after Armstrong’s death Blakeney, who had been showing ‘little interest in the natives’,<sup>93</sup> returned to South Africa, leaving Burton and Salter as the only missionaries at Mwanza.<sup>94</sup> Blakeney had been the official director of the PM in Congo. His relationship with both Armstrong and then Burton had been strained and Burton

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<sup>88</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 15. Burton writes how he ‘found himself running, singing, laughing in sheer exuberance of spirits’.

<sup>89</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 15-16; *CEMR* 333 (August 1964): 2.

<sup>90</sup> Burton, *My Personal Testimony*. Burton adds that Tentami was a close friend of Burton’s until Tentami’s death 33 years later in 1948. No second name is given for Tentami. See also Burton, *Honey Bee*, 12. Burton adds here how the missionaries were often invited to preach outside Tentami’s hut and each time he would ‘tell again the details of his miraculous healing’. Tentami was a useful character to have on the side of the missionary cause, he had led the village in a hunt for lions which had ‘half-eaten’ his own sister; see: Burton, *God Working*, 2-3.

<sup>91</sup> Burton, letter to HRC, 24/04/1924. Also, Burton, *God Working*, 42.

<sup>92</sup> Burton, *My Personal Testimony*.

<sup>93</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 18. Burton also recounts how Blakeney told him he had a tubercular abscess.

<sup>94</sup> According to Womersley, Blakeney wrote much later apologising for leaving Salter and Burton in the lurch and offered to make up the lost years by coming back, see: Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 62. Blakeney’s declaration stating he was ‘going back to civilisation’ came ‘like a veritable bomb-shell’ to Salter and Burton; see: Burton, *God Working*, 18-19.

asserts Blakeney had been jealous of Burton's level of French. Burton is also recorded as saying that Blakeney kept all the money that they had pooled together and took it all with him when he left to finance his journey back to South Africa.<sup>95</sup> Neither Burton nor Salter belonged to the PM, yet Burton was now standing in as officially the sole legal representative of that mission, 'an office required by the Government', with Blakeney having taken all its funds.<sup>96</sup>

The two single men were not left on their own for long. The PM, with Ernest Hooper standing in for Bowie who had returned to the USA for a rest following his earlier gruelling journey, quickly sent two women to replace Blakeney and Armstrong: Julia Richardson, widow of Edward Richardson and Augusta Hodges. Hodges had previous experience of working in Zululand. They actually moved so quickly across southern Africa they crossed paths with Blakeney who was on his return journey from Mwanza.<sup>97</sup>

To say that the arrival of the two PM women took Burton and Salter somewhat by surprise would be an understatement. In December 1915, Burton writes to Myerscough that he has heard the two women are already well on their way. He complains, maybe with their arrival in mind, that as it is the wet season, his clothes were getting mouldy in a day and that he has been trying to dry his underclothes in a shelter for sixteen days and nevertheless, they are 'not fit to put on yet'.<sup>98</sup> In material meant for a public readership, Burton made the point that the women setting off from Johannesburg were 'quite unknown to Messrs. Burton and Salter'.<sup>99</sup> The first news they had of their near arrival was a message that had 'come through with perfect accuracy, over three hundred miles, on the native drum telephone, in just over nine hours.' The relayed message said, 'Two ladies have left Tshilongo, with 35 loads.'<sup>100</sup> It must be remembered that as well as it being the rainy season, Burton and Salter were trying to build a house for themselves at this point. This was not something they had anticipated

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<sup>95</sup> Burton, Recorded notes, 1-2, cited by Garrard, 'History,' 30. Blakeney went back to Congo in 1921 and founded the AG mission there in the north east of the country near to Isiro; see: *PE* 418-419 (12/11/1921): 12. Julia Richardson followed him out there the following year; see: *PE* 448-449 (10/06/1922): 12.

<sup>96</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 33.

<sup>97</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 42. Julia Richardson's travelling speed is noted years later when she made the journey of about eight hundred miles from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma averaging a speed of ten miles per hour (we are not told what means of transports she used), see: *PE* 480-1 (20 Jan 1923): 12. Travelling by train would have been a distinct possibility, if not a probability at least to the Congo border from 1909 onwards; see: 'A potted History of the Railway,' accessed 02/05/2013, <http://www.geoffs-trains.com/Museum/history.html>.

<sup>98</sup> *Missionary Pioneering*, 43.

<sup>99</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 42.

<sup>100</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 42-43.

they would have to do. Bowie had led them to believe adequate housing would be there. When he had first arrived at Mwanza, Salter had a fever and had been carried the last twenty miles in ‘an improvised hammock’; as he was carried in his hammock one can only speculate as to what he was expecting to see in terms of a house, but he states that when they saw it, they had ‘a tremendous shock’. The walls had ‘gaping cracks’ and were ‘leaning at dangerous angles’. The roof was ‘in imminent danger of collapse’, and they had to avoid the sun streaming through during the day and at night they could lie on their canvas beds and ‘watch through the roof the stars in the heavens’. There was ‘not one nail in the entire building’ which was ‘held together with bark string’; a ‘less inviting home would be difficult to imagine’.<sup>101</sup>

Burton, as has been seen in his PMU days, strongly believed in being ‘led by God’. Nevertheless, he writes with frustration to Myerscough that although the ‘two sisters [...] say they were lead (sic) to come and fill the gap occasioned by the departure of Brother Blakeney [...] yet I cannot understand their coming up here when we have no housing or accommodation.’<sup>102</sup> The angst is palpable in the correspondence before Richardson and Hodges arrive; Burton tells Myerscough, perhaps poignantly, ‘I had no time to stop these sisters as they came with the full authority of the Pentecostal Mission’.<sup>103</sup> Burton’s frustration is juxtaposed here with his idealism; the latter manifesting in his comprehension of where the authority lay in December 1915 and also in his desire to accommodate those who believe they are being led by God.

Richardson and Hodges inconveniently arrived before the house Burton and Salter were building had been completed. Burton and Salter left the old house and moved into tents giving the ‘big nearly completed house to the ladies’. Burton and Salter continued to work on the house for the women, but both went down with fever as it neared completion. They were just ‘getting their strength back’ when lightning struck the house and they had to watch ‘my three months’ work go up in flames’.<sup>104</sup> Burton said ‘three months work was burned down in

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<sup>101</sup> James Salter, *Abraham Our First Convert* (London: Victory Press, n.d.), 6.

<sup>102</sup> Burton, Letter to Myerscough, 05/12/1915 in Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 43.

<sup>103</sup> Burton, Letter to Myerscough, 05/12/1915 in Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 43.

<sup>104</sup> Burton and Salter, Report from Bros. Burton and Salter No.4, n.d. Emphasis mine. Also reproduced in *WE* 140 (20/05/1916): 11. While Burton says it took him three months to build this house, Hodgson reportedly built his three-roomed house from scratch at Kisanga in the wet season in three weeks; Hodgson was said to have worked ‘like a Trojan’ to do this. See: *CEMR* 1 (31/05/1922): 4.

three hours'.<sup>105</sup> While Burton saw it as his work going up in flames, Hooper, standing in for Bowie, was reporting the same event to the PM supporters but saying that 'their house had been struck by lightning and completely destroyed'.<sup>106</sup> Hooper's use of the possessive adjective in that statement was probably not intended to include Burton and Salter; almost certainly, Bowie would not have incorporated them into it.

After that thousand mile walk in six months,<sup>107</sup> Bowie's 'rest' in the USA turned out to be taking charge of Bethel church in Newark for a few months.<sup>108</sup> He spoke there about Central and Southern Africa at a special missionary convention on April 30<sup>th</sup>. In his address he gave a graphic account of his journey with Richardson and Ulyate to 'open up' the mission station at Mwanza. He told the convention audience, 'this is where Mrs. Richardson and Miss Hodges are now'. Not once did he mention Burton or Salter or even suggest that others might be with them. He did say, in what could be construed as a very misleading way, 'While I was there I had a rough house built, but later on we built them a new one, but a recent letter tells me the new house was struck by lightning and they had to go back to the old one, which had been discarded'. There was again, no mention of Burton or Salter. He finished his address saying:

The little station in Congo Belge has been established through the laying down of precious lives and many heartaches; through many trials and privations, days of hardship and nights of prayer and prevailing with God, but out of the pioneering, out of the hardships and discouragements, out of the lives laid down in Central Africa the Gospel has been planted and will we believe, bring forth a rich harvest of souls.<sup>109</sup>

On what might be perceived as an emotionally rousing note, Bowie then took a collection for the missionary work, which was \$12,150, at the time the largest amount ever taken in that church.<sup>110</sup> This total is put in perspective when compared to Burton writing to Myerscough in March 1916; he says how news of a gift of 23 pounds caused his eyes to fill with tears 'at the

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<sup>105</sup> Burton, My Personal Testimony. On this tape Burton tells how 'a little hunchback' who had been 'insulting and surly' when they had first arrived at Mwanza, risked his life to recover belongings 'while it was burning, seeing the rafters crashing in' from the burning house. His name was Mutokambadi. He became one of Burton's 'most loyal and faithful companions' who travelled thousands of miles with Burton. Burton had to carry him at times when they forded rivers because of his short stature. He had a 'lovely *false* voice' and 'sang the gospel' when Burton preached. Burton adds, 'I think the singing of the gospel in those early days did more than the preaching of the gospel'.

<sup>106</sup> WE 143 (10/06/1916): 12. Emphasis mine. He mentions no names in this report.

<sup>107</sup> LRE (June 1916): 19.

<sup>108</sup> This was in New Jersey.

<sup>109</sup> LRE (June 1916): 21.

<sup>110</sup> LRE (May 1916): 13. This would be worth around two hundred and seventy-nine thousand dollars in 2016, see: 'Dollar Times.' accessed 14/04/2016, <http://www.dollartimes.com/inflation/inflation.php?amount=5000&year=1916>,

great faithfulness of God'.<sup>111</sup> In 1921, Bethel had become known as 'one of the greatest Pentecostal Missionary Centres in the country [the USA]' and where 'every quarter the largest missionary collections of any Pentecostal Assembly are taken up year after year'.<sup>112</sup> It is worth noting that the 'President' of this church, was in fact a woman, Minnie Draper; one can only speculate as to whether Burton was ever aware of this.<sup>113</sup> The link between American money, the PM and publicising Mwanza, was something Burton and Salter were blissfully unaware of in 1916 as Burton wrote letters home about the frustrations of wet underpants, fevers and a recently built house struck by lightning and burned down. However, as will be shown later, Richardson was very cognisant of Bowie's thinking. Bowie went on to leave Bethel and return to South Africa, the land that Burton had described as overpopulated with missionaries, in June 1916.<sup>114</sup>

Burton, just four months before Bowie's address to the munificent givers at Bethel in New Jersey, was baring his heart in a letter to Myerscough in Preston, saying how he and Salter had preferred not to buy food, but rather put money they did have into the building of the house for the PM women; they were so short of food that 'Jimmy and the native boy had to go into the forest and grub up roots for food'. He adds, 'While I don't mind for myself, I do mind for Jimmy'.<sup>115</sup>

Burton and Salter continued working, based in Mwanza, under the auspices of the PM, but still with neither of them belonging to that mission. With Richardson and Hodges belonging to the PM the situation was not a firm footing for a mission work to be established. It proved to be a temporary measure that went on probably much longer than Burton ever believed it would. Working under the patronage of a mission to which he did not belong passed from being an initial administrative convenience to a growing frustration, especially within the

<sup>111</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 79.

<sup>112</sup> *PE* 386-387 (02/04/1921): 7.

<sup>113</sup> For more on Minnie Draper see Ernest Hooper's obituary to her, 'At Home with her Lord' in: *LRE* 13:7 (April 1921): 10-11. In this obituary Hooper describes how Bethel was opened through the prayers of another woman, Alice Thompson, and how under Draper's 'leadership' there were now 'many missionaries in every heathen land' who 'look to Bethel as their church home'. See also: Gary McGee, 'Three Notable Women' in *Heritage*, (Spring 1985-6): 3-5.

<sup>114</sup> *LRE* (May 1916): 14.

<sup>115</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 44. Burton was not the only British Pentecostal at this time to be struggling financially. Johnstone who was in Congo at the time, later wrote to the PMU Council basically complaining that £72 for each missionary was not sufficient and blamed the Congolese for this as there was 'a great demand for higher wages among the natives, owing to them receiving exorbitant sums during the war'. See: Johnstone, letter to Mundell, 05/12/1918. He mentioned in a 1914 letter that he had had to dispense with many of his workmen because of the 'terrible war', see: *FF* 23 (January 1915): 7.

context of a bureaucratic Belgian colony. As early as March 1916 Burton writes to Myerscough of the plans for him and Salter to leave Mwanza ‘to the ladies’ and move on and establish ‘a new station’.<sup>116</sup>

Doering writes how Burton invited her at this time ‘to join his party in getting located somewhere in Southern Congo’. She submitted his request to the PMU, but also wrote that she was ‘endeavoring (sic) to avoid independent moves’. Given the past history with the PMU, it is not at all surprising that Doering never did join Burton, but her initial response was neither to see Burton and Salter as attached to the PM nor as having a recognised missionary society, but rather as involved with ‘independent moves’.<sup>117</sup>

Richardson, along with Hodges, understandably continued working with the PM while based in Mwanza. In fact, it became apparent that Hooper had sent Richardson to become the director of the Congo branch of the PM, but Burton never learned anything about this until after she had left.<sup>118</sup> After repeated bouts of illness, both women decided to leave for a period of rest on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1917.<sup>119</sup> As the narrative unfolds, one can only conjecture what might have happened in terms of sustained PM governance had their health been better.

Burton enlisted more missionaries when he made a visit to South Africa in May and June 1918. He recruited Hettie Trollip on May 23<sup>rd</sup> when he married her,<sup>120</sup> and also returned with two more single females and a single male missionary; he had boosted the numbers to seven.<sup>121</sup>

In the UK in May 1919, the relationship between the PMU and the PM was being worked out and made official. Salter had returned to the UK because of ill health in May of that year and upon his return had an ‘interview’ with Smith Wigglesworth, who at the time was on the PMU. It seemed the talk was still of PMU missionaries in Congo working under the auspices

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<sup>116</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 79. (This letter is one of those, which does not get included in the official CEM reproduction of Moorhead’s work, edited by David Womersley and Garrard, *Into Africa*.)

<sup>117</sup> Doering, letter to PMU, 10/06/1916.

<sup>118</sup> Burton, Recorded notes, 2, cited by Garrard, in ‘History,’ 35.

<sup>119</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 66.

<sup>120</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 108. He had been in ‘regular correspondence’ with her since leaving South Africa in 1915; see: Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 69.

<sup>121</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 114. Rickow’s name is spelt ‘Rickhow’ by Womersley, see: *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 70-71. Womersley also tells how Bakker and Rickow left Congo within a year, Bakker because he had struggled to learn the Kiluba language.

of the PM as the PM had ‘grants of territory from the government’, but they would be free to work ‘in harmony with the P.M.U. as a separate mission’.<sup>122</sup> Salter met the PMU in May 1919 and it was decided that PMU missionaries could be sent to work with Burton and Salter with the PM, working under its ‘nominal direction’, as the government in Congo would ‘deal only’ with the PM. This was seen as being a work of ‘Christian unity and Brotherly helpfulness’. At this meeting Salter, with Burton’s pre-Congo letters about women in ministry still being remembered, reassured the council that there were ‘no restrictions whatsoever by the Mission upon Women’s Ministry or work’.<sup>123</sup> Within a month, the idealistic unity and helpfulness had gone awry and Smith Wigglesworth was reporting to Boddy and the rest of the PMU present that ‘Messrs Burton and Salter are experiencing some difficulty with this Mission [the PM]’; the PM had sent American missionaries without Burton or Salter’s approval and without financial backing.<sup>124</sup>

In July 1919, a letter from Salter to the PMU was read out stating Burton and Salter were ‘not now affiliated’ to the PM, but were ‘recognised as an independent mission by the Belgian government’, but in a self-contradicting way added that they ‘had not yet definitely made the necessary arrangement for carrying out the above alteration’.<sup>125</sup> Salter writes to the PMU explaining he and Burton had been ‘compelled to resign’ from the PM and had thus ‘severed themselves from the Johannesburg people’ and Burton was in the process of ‘establishing a new and unattached Pentecostal work in Central Africa’.<sup>126</sup> This was to be a frustratingly

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<sup>122</sup> MPMU No.11, 05/05/1919. This PMU meeting had both A. Richardson and Johnstone present as the prospective missionaries to Congo, Johnstone no longer to work with the CoIM.

<sup>123</sup> MPMU No.1, 19/05/1919.

<sup>124</sup> MPMU No.2, 12/06/1919. Who these missionaries were is unclear. There is no record of any missionaries from America arriving in 1919. Richardson and Hodges fit the description, but they arrived in 1915. One has to assume that wires have got crossed and the minutes wrongly interpret Burton and Salter’s past issues over Richardson and Hodges as being in the present. As is shown, the intent of Richardson leading the PM branch in Congo did not become apparent until after she had left. The point nevertheless stands in spite of this obfuscation.

<sup>125</sup> MPMU No.1, 22/07/1919. This is in a summary of a letter read out from Salter, which was ‘favourably received by the Council’. The CEM in 1919 had not yet been registered.

<sup>126</sup> MPMU No.6, 18/08/1919. The letter also must have said that Burton would be making arrangements for new stations. The same minute records that Salter ‘was charged with making several damaging and unwarranted remarks about the work of the PMU.’ He wrote a letter saying he was ‘more sorry than words could express’ for remarks he had made about ‘Mr Moser and Mrs Crisp and also Mr Wigglesworth’ and the council agreed to explore ‘his mission’ accepting missionaries in the Belgian Congo; see: MPMU No.2, 25/09/1919.



long process for Burton. It was not until 1932 that the CEM was officially given *personnalité civile* in the Belgian Congo.<sup>127</sup>

In November 1919, four years after arriving in Congo, Burton writes to Salter, who is still in the UK (after a visit to the USA) explaining how he has ‘taken the final step’ and ‘dissolved the Congo branch of the Pentecostal Mission’. However, he still needs to wait for the Congo branch of the PM to be ‘legally recognised as dissolved’ but once that has happened he has received assurances from a colonial official, Mr Mostade, that he will be given ‘first option’ on purchasing the lands owned by the PM at Mwanza and Ngoimani. He has obviously tried to get *personnalité civile* status for setting up a new mission, and acknowledges Salter’s ‘wire accepting joint responsibility’ with Burton for a new mission to be registered. However, the colonial authorities refuse to grant ‘*personnalité civile* for two spinsters and a married couple’. He is told he has to wait for more missionaries to arrive and then ‘do the business properly’.<sup>128</sup>

By November 1919, things were progressing smoothly towards Burton registering the lands in his own name and setting up his own mission. The atmosphere seemed to change though just one month later. Burton writes to Salter that after having made a trip to Elisabethville; he is back at ‘dear old Mwanza’, but is shocked to find Amelia Rickow, who had only arrived that year, preparing ‘to go back to Bowie’ even though ‘she considers Mr Bowie has acted shockingly’.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, Toerien is ‘wavering and uncertain’ and ‘all her S.A. friends are with Bowie’.<sup>130</sup> Burton states he has ‘at last fathomed the bottom of the spirit of antagonism

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<sup>127</sup> *Personnalité civile* being the full legal recognition of the institution. This is still the term used in Congo today for any official recognised status given to churches. Earlier applications for *personnalité civile* before the end of World War I were processed relatively quickly by the Belgian government, such as the AIM, and PM who arrived in Congo in 1913 and 1915 respectively and both had their status conferred upon them in 1915. The CEM applied in 1920 and it took twelve years to get their legal status; the Mission Libre Suédoise (Swedish pentecostals) applied in 1921 and received their status in 1930. The Kimbanguists were not recognised by the Belgian government until December 1959. It should be borne in mind Simon Kimbangu appeared on the scene in 1921 and the colonial government became increasingly concerned by any talk of indigenous church; see: Hollenweger, Walter J., *Marxist and Kimbanguist Mission: A Comparison* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1972).

Roman Catholic missionaries were seen by some as unquestionably supporting the government in the area of social control; see: Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, 15-18.

<sup>128</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 29/11/1919. The two spinsters now being Anna Toerien and Amelia Rickow.

<sup>129</sup> Rickow wrote an article for the *Christian Evangel*, ‘Mwanza, Congo Belge, Africa’; see: CE 290-291 (31/05/1919): 10. In this she expresses her concern for the women of ‘Lubaland’ who ‘are not given the place that women hold in Christian lands’.

<sup>130</sup> Anna Toerien had previously been in the ‘South African Mission Field among the Swazis and Whites’; see: CEMR 3 (January-March 1924): 17. She was later able to testify to the accuracy of a Congolese man baptised in

and discontent which Mrs Richardson and others manifested towards us'. Richardson had passed on letters received from Bowie to the other women missionaries saying they could read them to Burton, but not allow him to copy them. Burton tells Salter the letters show the 'depth of the underhand actions to which Bowie has descended' and gives as an example the letter he has seen (but not copied), which tells Richardson she was to have 'full authority up here' and that since most of Bowie's money comes from America, she was to 'use her influence to keep back outsiders, & push the Americans to the fore'. In another letter Burton claims he has seen, Richardson had been advised to stay in Congo till the summer of 1917 'in order to keep us in the background until more Americans can take to the field'.<sup>131</sup> The fact that these letters were written two years previously shows there must have been a prolonged lack of openness in the early missionary days at Mwanza. Burton writing the history of this for a public audience in 1933, never mentions this tension with Richardson, but dedicates a chapter to her and Hodges, with the title, 'Two Intrepid Ladies'. Nevertheless, there is a hint at the unease when he describes their arrival as 'an awkward situation'.<sup>132</sup> There are traces in Burton's public writing, albeit at a later date, of what his concerns clearly were at the time expressed in his private letters.

The aforementioned tension would have been exacerbated by the fact that Richardson had, from her side, according to Burton, become emotionally involved with both Burton and Salter, even to the point where she had proposed to both men during her time at Mwanza.<sup>133</sup> One wonders what strain that must have put on Burton and Salter in terms of their being left alone with Richardson at any point. Also, how was it to be in such a position with a woman whose proposal has been rejected; Burton much later on told Womersley that Richardson became 'spiteful' towards him.<sup>134</sup>

The unfolding of this narrative does not show Burton with an established leadership before 1920. It is worth noting that of the eighteen reports from Burton predating the *CEMR*, the fourth (not dated, but the fifth is dated April 1916) to the thirteenth (July 21<sup>st</sup> 1918) have

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the Spirit speaking in 'clear Dutch'; see: *CEMR* 5 (July-September 1924): 46. This information was in an article written by Rupert Thomas from Kipushya. She eventually married this Kipushya missionary (the same year that his wife died in 1926) and became the first of a series of single women missionaries who married fellow Kipushya missionaries; see: *CEMR* 4 (October-December 1926): 175. This continued with my wife marrying me.

<sup>131</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 18/12/1919.

<sup>132</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 42.

<sup>133</sup> Burton, 'Recorded notes', 2. Cited by Garrard, in 'History,' 35.

<sup>134</sup> Burton, 'Recorded notes', 2. Cited by Garrard, in 'History,' 35.

Pentecostal Mission before Mwanza, as the address. After that, the last five (going to September 1920) omit Pentecostal Mission and simply put Mwanza as the first line of the address. It could be deduced that until July 1918, Burton believed the PM would take over the running of things and that after that time he began to close to the idea.

January 1920 sees Burton's frustration with the PM Executive Council exacerbated to the point where he has to complain that he had previously made 'vain endeavours to reach some definite (sic) business understanding' but that his 'appeals & questions have simply been ignored'. In the same letter he points out to them that the non-payment from them of their rents or taxes over the last three years would have meant that the lease on their property would have lapsed had he and 'Bro Salter' not met it from 'our own pockets'. Further, he states that given their silence, he has had no option but to dissolve the Congo branch of the PM and has personally purchased the lands of Mwanza, Ngoimani and Kisanga.

In spite of frustrations with their silence, Burton nevertheless manages to maintain what could be seen as a magnanimous and altruistic attitude towards the PM; after five years of working from Mwanza, he still offers them the chance to re-establish themselves there and is still prepared to 'consider reasonable suggestions' from them with regard to settling their own missionaries at Mwanza, although that would involve 'coming to some agreement about any indebtedness to you, & your indebtedness to us'.<sup>135</sup> Burton in January 1920 still seems to be lightly holding on to Mwanza and the surrounding area. Although he has worked there for five years he is willing to honour the fact that he has been working under the auspices of a mission, which he has not founded.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Burton, letter to the Executive Council of the Pentecostal Mission, 03/01/1920.

<sup>136</sup> In British Pentecostal historiography the ambiguity of the CEM's founding date is not interrogated; it is usually clearly seen as 1915. Take for example a report of a CEM field conference in 1938 in *RT*, which states, 'It is just twenty-three years since the first missionaries reached the Congo for this mission', see: *RT*, 14:17 (12/08/1938): 13. Emphasis mine. Earlier Burton in 1935 wrote about 'Our Twentieth Anniversary'. (This is the first mention of the word 'anniversary' in any *CEMR*.) See: *CEMR* No.55 (July-August 1935): 931. By June 1965, Donald Gee was writing of 'what God has done through the Congo Evangelistic Mission during its 50 years' existence'. See: *RT* 41:26 (25/06/1965): 9. The CEM even held a 'Jubilee Celebration' in the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London on June 30<sup>th</sup> 1965. See: *RT* 41:30 (23/07/1965): 19. This reports that Burton and Salter, 'these two amazing men of God stood side by side giving all the glory to God for the amazing work established among the once cannibalistic heathen tribes'. Maxwell in more academic writing about the CEM also sees it being founded in 1915, see: Maxwell, 'From Iconoclasm', 155. William Kay does the same, writing, '1915 W.F.Burton forms the Congo Evangelistic Mission'. See: Kay, William, *A Very Short Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 138. Allan Anderson shows more knowledge in writing that Burton and Salter 'officially launched the Congo Evangelistic Mission in 1919'. See: Anderson, *An Introduction*, 122. Gary McGee also gives this date: Gary McGee, 'Burton, William Frederick Padwick (1886-1971)' in G. Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary*, 102 and McGee, *Miracles, Missions and American Pentecostalism: American Society of Missiology Series*, no.45 (New York: Orbis), 133. More precisely, Hodgson in 1958 clarifies to his listeners

In May 1920, Burton writes again to the Executive Council of the PM stating that he wrote to them a year ago asking to resign from their mission and has been making ‘every effort to bring you to make some decision, as to whether you would send someone to replace me, & make settlement with regard to the land’.<sup>137</sup> He comes across as distressed as if he has only just discovered that they have attempted to get someone to replace him and, to make matters worse, he has only heard of this through other people. One assumes he is referring to the Bowie letters Richardson had sent to Toerien and Rickow. He charges the Executive Council of the PM of ‘acting behind my back’. He goes on to refer to a private ruction between Richardson and himself as not being the cause of division, but it being due to Bowie’s ‘failing to act openly & squarely towards all parties’. One wonders whether Burton had seen more letters which Bowie had sent to Richardson, or whether Toerien might have allowed him to have her copies. In any case, Burton feels able to quote more freely than he did to Salter in December 1919. Burton writes that Bowie had been saying that since most of the PM funding comes from the USA, ‘Americans were to be given preference in the work’. He had also empowered Richardson and Hodges to have authority that would ‘hold good against me & Bro Salter.’ Burton points out his objection to this:

we were to be allowed to take the giant share of the hard work and responsibility, (& finances too for that matter), & yet Mrs Richardson, a woman, was given authority over us. Surely you must all admit that this was neither just nor scriptural, so that it is no wonder that Mr Bowie wrote privately, & that Mrs Richardson has not shown it to us till now.<sup>138</sup>

Burton sees this ‘secret’ handing over of authority to Mrs Richardson as the ‘germ of the whole division’ and meant a ‘catastrophe was inevitable’. He goes on to say that ‘for the sake of the ever-growing work (five new out-stations, & 130 baptisms since the new year, (sic) & for the sake of the oncoming missionaries [...] I will no longer consider any proposition from you.’<sup>139</sup>

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how he arrived in Congo in 1920 before either AOG or the CEM existed. See: Hodgson, audio recording, 1958. 5 new missionaries from Britain came out to Congo in 1920, Alice Salter, Cyril Taylor, Edmund Hodgson and Frederick and Sally Johnstone. The latter two, as has been seen, had been in a different area in Congo before as PMU missionaries working with the CoIM.

<sup>137</sup> Burton, letter to the Executive Council of the Pentecostal mission, 20/05/1920.

<sup>138</sup> Burton, letter to the Executive Council of the Pentecostal Mission, 20/05/1920.

<sup>139</sup> Burton, letter to the Executive Council of the Pentecostal Mission, 20/05/1920.

Given that last statement, one could say the date of this letter, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1920, was the date that Burton became the clear leader of a missionary organisation that was still inchoate as far as colonial recognition of it was concerned. It will be seen below that Salter was back in Preston by this time, on Burton's recommendation. Burton did not send Salter back to Preston for this reason, but it did mean he was very clearly 'in charge' of the nascent missionary organisation.

### 3.5 1921-1922 Burton back in Britain: Assemblies of God Initiative

Within a year, Burton returned to England and gave his first talk concerning the work in Congo.<sup>140</sup> While in the UK, Burton was an instigator towards the founding of AOG.<sup>141</sup> Burton's name heads the list<sup>142</sup> of those who met in Sheffield in May 1922 wanting 'organisational unity'; Burton has been cited along with George Jeffreys as the joint instigators not only of the May 1922 Sheffield Conference, but also of the preparatory talks for the conference that took place at the end of 1921,<sup>143</sup> gathering together the 'leaders of the disjointed Pentecostal Movement of the British Isles who are now a duly recognised denomination called "The Assemblies of God"'.<sup>144</sup> Cartwright contentiously insists this was effectively the start of AOG given the document that was signed at the end of that conference had at its head 'Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Northern Ireland' and had Burton's and Jeffreys' signatures at the top of it.<sup>145</sup> Twelve independent Welsh assemblies wrote to the US AG asking whether they could become a district of AG and were told to join up with the already-formed AOG.<sup>146</sup> Massey observes there is scant detail about the reasons why the 1922 Sheffield conference was abortive, Gee just states it was.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> *Things New and Old* 1:1 (April 1921): 6. This was to a monthly convention meeting held at Lee, 01/03/1921, followed by his speaking at a 'Welcome Meeting' held at Sion College, 'when a packed meeting listened to a truly Apostolic (sic) story for an hour and a half'.

<sup>141</sup> Richard Dan Massey, 'A Sound and Scriptural Union': an examination of the origins of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland during the years 1920-1925' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1987), 20-51.

<sup>142</sup> Massey, 'A Sound,' 24, n.7. There is a list of twelve signatures in a letter written by E.C. Boulton and headed: 'To all Saints in the British Isles who stand for the latter rain outpouring with signs following.'

<sup>143</sup> James McWhirter in *EE* 15:9 (02/03/1934): 136, cited by Massey in 'A Sound,' 21, n.7.

<sup>144</sup> *EE* 15:9 (02/03/1934): 136. The Elim movement at this time had only just started meetings in Hull and Grimsby and Jeffreys was holding meetings in Sheffield. It was at this conference that a provisional joint statement of fundamental truths was written down.

<sup>145</sup> Cartwright, interview. Cartwright told me he had taken this document to an AOG executive council meeting in Nottingham, but the belief was maintained that AOG was formed in 1924.

<sup>146</sup> Massey, 'A Sound,' 30. Cartwright gives the information about the AG response; Cartwright, interview.

<sup>147</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 106, cited by Massey in 'A Sound,' 46.

In 1933 some readers of *CEMR* must have questioned whether or not the CEM was in sympathy with AOG. Burton writes to reassure them:

In 1921 Mr. Geo. Jeffreys and Mr. W. Burton took the first steps in the gathering as a body of the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD in Great Britain and Ireland. This should be sufficient answer to some who have regarded C.E. (sic) Missionaries as out of sympathy with the Assemblies of God [...] We have been associated in fact from the beginning.<sup>148</sup>

Burton was the leader and initiative-taker, appearing to have been far more proactive than Salter was in seeking to see something established in the UK, which would bolster the CEM's application for the Belgian recognition of *personnalité civile*.

### 3.6 The Crawford Link

This thesis has outlined Burton's frustrated relationship with the PM and his frustration with the 'first steps' to setting up AOG. It now goes initially back in time, and then runs parallel to those frustrations to examine an idealistic friendship Burton was developing with a Brethren missionary in Congo.

Burton had felt the need to 'get right away from Mwanza and have a complete change'<sup>149</sup> 'towards the end' of 1917. Seven years later he described this visit as 'a complete holiday'.<sup>150</sup> He had responded to an invitation from Dan Crawford at Luanza<sup>151</sup> on the Western and Congolese side of Lake Mweru.<sup>152</sup> The journey from Mwanza to Luanza was of at least two

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<sup>148</sup> *CEMR* 44 (September-October 1933): 730. Burton goes on to add that this is 'NOT at the exclusion of Elim friends'. Emphasis his.

<sup>149</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 102.

<sup>150</sup> *CEMR* 4 (April-June 1924): 32. He writes here how he had built a 'big chapel at Mwanza' and had felt the 'strain of pressing on the work before the commencement of the rains, coupled with continual low fevers' had meant his strength was 'sapped'. The rains would have started in September at Mwanza. Moorhead (not Burton) writes that Burton set off in September 1917 to see Crawford, see: Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 102.

<sup>151</sup> Tilsley, George E., *Dan Crawford: Missionary and Pioneer in Central Africa* (London: Oliphants, 1929), 563. Crawford did also have a seventeen-year-old son at this time, but he had been handed over to Crawford's mother as a two-year-old and Crawford had only seen him while on furlough in 1912 as a ten-year-old. As Burton had later in 1923, Crawford had had a previous son who died as a baby in 1898, 'the first white child to be born in all those parts of central Africa'. See: Tilsley, *Crawford*, 379-380. Luanza is spelt Loanza on more recent maps. See: 'Google Maps', accessed 04/04/2016, <https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place/Loanza,+Democratic+Republic+of+the+Congo/@-8.6994917,27.2880545,8.37z/data=!4m2!3m1!1s0x19a1d56d0c25514b:0xc647eb6f6609da64>.

<sup>152</sup> The Eastern shore being in what was then Northern Rhodesia. Crawford was a contributor to geographical knowledge as Burton would be later; Crawford's writings about Lake Mweru appear as: Dan Crawford, 'A Visit to Lake Mweru' in 'The Monthly Record' of *The Geographical Journal*, 4:5 (November 1894): 460-461. Crawford here writes that *Mweru* means white. Crawford's translation of *Mweru* as 'white' and his writing

weeks' duration. Upon his return he wrote unpretentiously to Crawford: 'Being a young hand at Central African evangelization, I learned scores of valuable lessons (at Luanza)'.<sup>153</sup> He was impressed firstly with Crawford's Bible teaching programme.<sup>154</sup> Further, bearing in mind that he was still waiting for his own evangelists to be baptised in the Spirit, he envied Crawford's non-pentecostal, yet nevertheless still 'fiery' and 'faithful black evangelists' reaching out to 'needy villages'. In addition, Burton felt he owed 'a debt of gratitude' to Crawford for the 'lessons of combined simplicity and refinement', which opposed the 'tendency to expensive buildings and luxurious equipment and costliness of upkeep',<sup>155</sup> (this in contrast to Lake's views on the support needed by western missionaries).<sup>156</sup> Crawford was, with his Brethren roots, standing in the line of the faith missions, including those who were not Brethren but influenced by them, who believed in direct dependence upon and responsibility only to God.<sup>157</sup> All three impressions made upon Burton fed into his idealistic aspirations. While Crawford cannot be attributed as the principal cause, all three elements were subsequent emphases within the CEM, with the third being particularly nuanced.<sup>158</sup>

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about the Luapula river flowing into Lake Mweru via two mouths was contested in a letter to the journal written by Alfred Sharpe. Sharpe stated the word *Mweru* meant 'lake'; Sharpe had navigated the inlets and discovered the Luapula had only one entry into the lake; interestingly for this thesis, given the emphasis on the usefulness of local agency, Sharpe states (about the Luapula entry into Lake Mweru), 'Doubtless Mr. Crawford has been informed by natives [...]'. See: Alfred Sharpe, 'Lake Mweru', *The Geographical Journal*, 5:4 (April 1895): 391-392.

<sup>153</sup> Tilsley, *Crawford*, 563. Burton's letter to Crawford is published here, albeit edited down (still over three hundred words).

<sup>154</sup> I cannot find any record of the numbers involved at the time of Burton's visit, but later on in August 1920, Crawford reported that there were one thousand attending what he refers to as 'the mother school' and there were another fourteen daughter schools; see: *PE* 352-353, (07/08/1920): 14.

<sup>155</sup> Burton's letter to Crawford in Tilsley, *Crawford*, 563-564.

<sup>156</sup> *Pent* 1:7 (June) 1909; this was cited earlier and entitled Lake, 'Important Instructions'. Lake wrote here that western missionaries should 'be compelled to live as they did in America'.

<sup>157</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853)* (Milton Keynes: Authentic Media, 2004), 509-520; Fiedler, *The Story* and Timothy Larsen, 'Living by Faith': A Short History of Brethren Practice', *The Brethren Archivists and Historians Network* 1 (1997). A.N. Groves, the 'Father of Faith missions' gave up a dentist's salary to pursue this, and even went as far to believe it was incorrect to draw a salary; Groves believed all Christians should literally follow the examples of the apostles and that their example was binding. Groves commented in 1833, 'Whenever I can literally follow scripture, I feel easy in the act', cited in G.H.Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves: Saint and Pioneer: A Combined Study of a Man of God & Of the Original Principles & Practices of the Brethren with Applications to the Present Conditions* (London: Paternoster, 1949), 108, cited by Timothy Larsen in 'Living by Faith,' 74.

<sup>158</sup> Burton did not completely take hold of 'living by faith' as practised by the Brethren. It did not escape his attention in further dealings with them that Crawford, well known across the world, received a good level of support while lesser known missionaries holding the same faith could not receive similar levels of support and struggled to make ends meet; see: Womersley, interview with D. Garrard, 28/07/1980, quoted in Garrard, 'History,' 82.

Crawford had in 1912 published *Thinking Black: Twenty-two years without a break in the long grass of Africa*.<sup>159</sup> In parts of this non-chronological book<sup>160</sup> Crawford castigated the notion of a mission station.<sup>161</sup> In 1902 Crawford had written of the convert who lived on the mission station as an 'astounding Pharisee' who viewed himself as superior to the 'blunt black sinner of heathendom'.<sup>162</sup> Hudson Taylor had once told Crawford not to stay on the coast, but to go in deep in to the interior, adding 'however far in you go, men can only ever wall you round, they can never *roof* you in'.<sup>163</sup>

By 1907 Crawford had modified his perceptions on the value of the mission station. Frederick Arnot<sup>164</sup> visited him that year and wrote Crawford had 'decided from being a wandering, cave and swamp missionary, he had better be a resident missionary'.<sup>165</sup> Crawford's perceptions had changed following a lengthy visit to Livingstonia in Nyasaland

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<sup>159</sup> Dan Crawford, *Thinking Black: Twenty-two years without a break in the long grass of Africa* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1912). This book, which came just before the centenary of Livingstone's birth in 1813, sold well. Tilsley writes of there being 'hundreds of reviews [...] written about the book throughout the English-speaking world'. Tilsley adds: 'Hundreds of thousands read it and enjoyed it. Many were enlightened and some spiritually influenced by it. A few even understood it'. See: Tilsley, *Crawford*, 528-531. Tilsley's reference to understanding the book refers to his having explained about the lack of chronology in the writings. Burton in 1949 refers to Crawford as 'of Thinking Black fame', see: W.F.P. Burton, *Signs Following* (Preston: Congo Evangelistic Mission, 1949), 2.

<sup>160</sup> Crawford wrote from the perspective of 'the black man's thinking'; Tilsley pointed out this was 'irritating to precisionist mentalities cast in the more definite thought-moulds of present Western civilisations'; see: Tilsley, *Crawford*, 529. It is hard, if not impossible at times, to work out what time period Crawford is referring to in *Thinking Black*.

<sup>161</sup> For example, Crawford writes: 'Note this curious new word "Station" [...] You will search the dictionary in vain for its meaning, and the Acts of the Apostles too. [...] In a word, an isolated estate some hundreds of yards or acres square in which the Missionary lives as magnate of the district. Station in name and station in nature is such a place, for it forces the preacher to be as stationary as his station: the native must come to the Missionary, and not the Apostolic contrary'. Crawford, *Thinking Black*, 418. Crawford's 'notoriety' over his views on the mission station can be further understood when looking at a local paper in New Zealand describing his visit to a church there in 1914; the article describes him as 'the famous explorer, author, and linguist, who can speak or write in 13 languages', and refers to his rebuttal of the notion of 'making that mission station a little slice of England'; see: *Northern Advocate*, (21/07/1914): 2; Accessed 08/08/2013, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NA19140721.1.2&e=-----10--1----0--> The article also states that Crawford believed a local diet was necessary 'if Europeans want to live healthily in the African interior'. For examples of references to 'stations', see: Fiedler, *The Story*, 49,50,55,74,76,80,83,84,139,292 (a reference here to Hudson Taylor sending his second wife and two single women to establish a 'permanent station' for the CIM), 298.

<sup>162</sup> Tilsley, *Crawford*, 492.

<sup>163</sup> Tilsley, *Crawford*, 32-33. Emphasis his. Hudson Taylor said this when Crawford was considering becoming a missionary to China, yet he applied it to Africa; it was Frederick Arnot who in Crawford's own words, 'won me for Africa when China was calling'.

<sup>164</sup> Frederick (Fred) Arnot was a pioneer Brethren missionary; see: Ernest Baker, *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot*. New York: Dutton and Company, 1921.

<sup>165</sup> *Echoes of Service* (February 1908) cited by Slade in *English-Speaking*, 183.



(Malawi) in 1903-4. He saw the work of Robert Laws<sup>166</sup> and his wife and was impressed by seeing what could be done through a mission station, which became the centre for a whole series of 'outposts'. Crawford came to see that by setting up a mission station, he was not necessarily aborting 'going far' into society.<sup>167</sup> Viewing the station through an apostolic lens brought local agency, rather than the western missionary into the limelight. No longer would Crawford write about the missionary being 'snug in all their stations'.<sup>168</sup> Rather, Crawford came to see that by setting up a mission station, he was going further through those who would be 'far more successful than he in penetrating tribal life.'<sup>169</sup> Brethren missionaries had been in Katanga for sixteen years before they had seen their first convert baptised at Mwena in 1902. It was following this that they began to see more converts and by 1908 there were 45 at Luanza and 120 students in the school.<sup>170</sup> Conversions enabled local agency only as missionaries appreciated the converts and were willing to entrust responsibility to them. Crawford valued local agency above missionary endeavour for reaching far into the mindset of the Congolese:

Africa's true evangelisation begins when the simple negroes start to talk about redeeming love among themselves. No English twang or mannerisms in that negro talk. With the converted African, Christ's mercy, like the water in a vase, takes the shape of the vessel that holds it.<sup>171</sup>

Such esteeming of local agency was highly relevant for Burton in what he saw and what came to be the values in the organisation of the CEM. Burton's training programme and support of Congolese evangelists resonated with this apostolic approach.

Crawford influenced and aided Burton in other ways. For example, Crawford's translation of the Bible was of great help to Burton. Burton wrote with excitement to Salter in November 1919, that 'Crawford has finished practically the whole Luban bible'.<sup>172</sup> Burton too had a

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<sup>166</sup> See: W. Livingstone, *The Life of Robert Laws of Livingstonia: A narrative of Missionary Adventure and Achievement* (New York: Doran, 1923).

<sup>167</sup> Slade, *English-speaking*, 183-184.

<sup>168</sup> In *Echoes of Service* (September 1890): 264. This cites Crawford's entry into his diary, 27/04/1899. Cited in Robert I. Rotberg, 'Plymouth Brethren and the Occupation of Katanga, 1886-1907'. *Journal of African History*, 5:2 (1964): 296. In the same diary entry Crawford had written. 'As long as we can keep to the jungle and the rough life of itinerating, only good old things can befall us'.

<sup>169</sup> Slade, *English-speaking*, 183-4.

<sup>170</sup> Robert I. Rotberg, 'Plymouth Brethren,' 296.

<sup>171</sup> Crawford, *Thinking Black*, 484.

<sup>172</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 27/11/1919. See: Tilsley, *Crawford*, 520-521: Crawford both appreciated and learned the language of the 'black man', writing, about him having 'his verbs with their thirty-two splendid

love for the Baluba language, with the help of Izake and Tondolo (no other names given) he recorded over 1,700 Luban proverbs<sup>173</sup> and insisted new missionaries learn the language enough to preach within six months of their arrival on the field or go home. With such linguistic ability Burton's 'going far' into Luban culture, included his eventual writing a theoretical exposition on Luban culture and religion.<sup>174</sup> Burton honours Izake and Tondo for their help in providing proverbs and publishes their picture in *CEMR*. The caption reads as below:

Figure 9

Izake and Tondo

'These men have gathered for me hundreds of their nation's wise sayings, as well as fables, histories and other oral literature.'<sup>175</sup>

*Photo taken from CEMR*



### 3.6.1 Burton's Influence on Crawford

While Burton benefitted from Crawford's experience, the relationship was not one-way. He influenced Crawford in pentecostal terms. Right from the start of the relationship in 1917 Burton challenged Crawford on his stance that 'signs' (as in Mark 16:7) were not for today. The discussion was reportedly 'getting warm' before Crawford was called away to pray for a

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tenses – "lovely, subtle, sinewy" verbs, and nouns with nineteen genders [...] as for poetry: every black man is his own Wordsworth'.

<sup>173</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *Proverbs of the Baluba* (Elisabethville: Société d'Etudes Juridiques, 1959).

<sup>174</sup> Burton, *Luba*. As cited in the introduction.

<sup>175</sup> *CEMR* 268 (March 1959): 17. I include the photo here simply to show Burton's desire to credit the Congolese who gave him so much assistance in the Kiluba language and Baluba history.

woman ‘on her death-bed’. Crawford thought about the discussion and laid hands on the woman who ‘rose up’ and was ‘completely healed’. From then on Burton writes that Crawford prayed for the sick. Burton lamented ‘the calamity’ of ‘the church in Lubaland’ having ‘been robbed of that blessed ministry and [...] deprived of those confirmatory signs by the “not for today” error.’<sup>176</sup>

Burton would have clearly counted Crawford as pentecostal in experience when Crawford told Burton that he had ‘received the Spirit on July 8<sup>th</sup>’ of 1925.<sup>177</sup> Burton states this was ‘not very long before his home-call’ and that Crawford had written to him ‘praise God, I have received the Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit’.<sup>178</sup> Recognising Crawford as operating in a healing ministry and as baptised in the Spirit and yet remaining in his mission shows Burton manifesting a non-sectarian attitude towards Pentecostalism. A month after Crawford had received his baptism in the Spirit, Burton is writing to Myerscough expressing his disquiet at ‘a move’ to make all CEM missionaries register with AOG,<sup>179</sup> he mentions that ‘between ourselves and the Garenganze (sic) (Open Brethren) mission, there is the sweetest understanding’.<sup>180</sup>

Burton’s ‘sweetest understanding’ with Crawford went well beyond 1917. It included his writing in *CEMR* about spending Christmas 1923 with Crawford and other Brethren missionaries.<sup>181</sup> Privately Burton told Myerscough at the time, ‘I feel that the P.B.s [Plymouth Brethren] are ashamed of the way that they have scandalized us and spread false

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<sup>176</sup> Burton, *Signs Following*, 12-13. I can find no evidence for directly linking this with Burton’s influence, but after Burton’s visit to Crawford, over twenty of Crawford’s articles and testimonies start appearing in the pentecostal publication, *PE*, from 1919 and continue posthumously till 1950. Crawford’s own death is recorded in *PE* and as well as acknowledging he ‘laboured 36 years in Darkest Africa with only one break’, it also adds Crawford ‘was quite sympathetic with the Pentecostal message and there was a blessed friendship between him and the Pentecostal workers in Congo Belge’.

<sup>177</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 16/11/1925.

<sup>178</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 58-59, unnumbered note on these pages. Subsequent to this, two more Garenganze missionaries, ‘Mr Spargo’ and ‘Mr Williams’ were reported to be ‘seeking the baptism in the Spirit’; see: Burton, letter to Salter, 25/11/1925.

<sup>179</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 18/08/1925. He writes here: ‘I felt sure that no such move to form a narrow denominational barrier could possibly be in the minds of you dear ones in the home land. Out here, we are the ONLY CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION that the natives know, and for thousands of square miles if our testimony were removed, the natives would be absolutely without a christian (sic) church. Thus we will gladly welcome either Assemblies of God, or Elim candidates, or even those who are independent of either.’ Burton writes along very similar lines in a letter to Salter, 16/11/1925. In this letter he says he does not care about any home certificates (or lack of any) as long as new missionaries are ‘out and out C.E.M.’. Emphasis his.

<sup>180</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 18/08/1925.

<sup>181</sup> *CEMR* 4 (April-June 1924): 32-33.

reports about us, so that to day (sic) we are having the sweetest fellowship in the Lord'.<sup>182</sup> Crawford visited Mwanza a few months later in June 1924, Burton called this the 'most delightful 4 days'.<sup>183</sup> Burton published Crawford's thoughts on Mwanza and the outlying area in *CEMR*. Crawford's assessment of Burton's mission was that it was, 'Right in the heart of wild Lubaland, they are deeply entrenched in the hearts of the people', and 'Very Pauline'.<sup>184</sup> This visit was described by Burton in the same issue of *CEMR* as 'much appreciated' and a 'surprise visit' and Burton added, 'Such old-established workers are able to give us much valuable help and advice'.<sup>185</sup>

### 3.7 The So-called 'Revolutionary Idea' of Indigenous Church

Womersley stated Burton's vision 'from the start' was always to have an 'indigenous Church', describing this as a 'revolutionary idea in those days', adding that Burton and his missionaries would 'begin to share the burden of responsibility right from the start'.<sup>186</sup> Womersley overplays the 'revolutionary' nature of Burton's desire for indigenous church 'in those days'. As seen above, Crawford, before Burton, came to see the greater efficacy of 'African evangelists' over the 'white man's efforts'. Further, one has to mention that in 1912 *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours* was published. In this book Roland Allen (who had been an Anglican missionary in China from 1895-1903), while making the case for both

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<sup>182</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 23/01/1924. Burton adds, 'We are going very gently, and not desiring to emphasise points of difference, but rather to find a bond of loving fellowship over God's word', and concludes, 'The consequence is that they have given serious attention to the teaching of Baptism in the Spirit and I have no doubt that some of them are seriously exercised concerning the matter'.

<sup>183</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 17/06/1924. Burton appreciated Crawford's engagement with biblical study in this letter telling Myerscough, Crawford had spoken 'in the warmest terms of "that delightful little Elim paper"', and mentioned specially what a blessing the bible-readings in Romans had been to him'. Burton adds to Myerscough that 'Our Assemblies need more of that solid gospel groundwork'.

<sup>184</sup> *CEMR* 5 (July-September 1924): 42.

<sup>185</sup> *CEMR* 5 (July-September 1924): 48. Surprisingly Crawford's death is not mentioned in *CEMR*, only a time after his death is a passing mention made in a report from Hodgson. He writes about one of the freed Angolan slaves named Ngoloma, (who will be examined in the next chapter) who had been teaching in one of the schools Hodgson was overseeing. Ngoloma wanted to leave and return to his original home and take the Christian message to them there. Hodgson was concerned and 'local Christians protested strongly' as it would be difficult to find a replacement for Ngoloma. After praying about it, Hodgson says they 'left the matter in God's hands'. No replacement was found for Ngoloma until the day he was leaving when 'a real old Christian warrior with his wife and one of his grown sons came walking into the village'. Hodgson goes on to explain that this man, another freed slave, had been working for Crawford for many years and after Crawford's death he felt free to do exactly what Ngoloma was doing, return to his home village (Kisale). Hodgson writes about this couple, that they are 'beautiful souls and have got the real thing. A passion for lost souls'. The man's name is never given, but his wife, Hana, is reported as running her own women's meetings and carrying 'the precious story of Jesus even into the Chief's harems and no place is private to her'. See: *CEMR* 15 (January-March 1927): 195.

<sup>186</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 79-80.

indigenous, self-supporting missionaries and self-governing churches espoused the notion that ‘many of our best men are locked up in strategic centres’.<sup>187</sup>

Fiedler sees Allen as receiving ‘common veneration’ from all Pentecostals.<sup>188</sup> Anderson points out that Allen’s work resonated with Pentecostals given its emphasis on mission being primarily a work of the Spirit.<sup>189</sup> Burton perspicaciously read Allen and was at pains to defiantly deny having ever taken on board what he referred to as ‘Rowland (sic) Allenism’. Burton wrote to Salter complaining,

At present there is a great outcry for “Indigenous Methods”, without really knowing what “indigenous methods” are sound and which are not. We have had Rowland (sic) Allenism tried out by the Garengarenze (sic) Mission right under our very noses for the last 20 years, and a more heart-rending miserable fiasco it would be hard to imagine. It’s pitiable!<sup>190</sup>

In the same letter Burton tells Salter that he was considering ‘putting out a booklet “Are we to follow Paul’s Missionary Methods?”’ but thanks Salter for writing and ‘so thoroughly covering the ground’, adding that he would like to see Salter’s writing ‘in print’, including in *RT*.<sup>191</sup> Salter does publish soon after this in *RT* writing that the ‘policy should be to dig out and develop native talent’, adding something that reflects Crawford’s and Burton’s refusal ‘to other’ local agency: “Every Christian native a Missionary” is a good slogan’. Salter also writes that not following any ‘system or ‘method’ is the ‘OPEN SECRET OF SUCCESS’.<sup>192</sup> Salter neither mentions Allen’s writing in *RT* or in *CEMR* the following year when celebrating the planting of ‘self-governing and self-propagating assemblies’ which are ‘shepherded by local men’. Salter also pointedly writes of the support given by ‘this Mission’

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<sup>187</sup> Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul’s or Ours?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), 17. Allen’s work is well-documented, see for example: Angela Tarango, *Choosing the Jesus Way: American Indian Pentecostals and the Fight for the Indigenous Principle* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 33-36; Lamin Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 218-234; Anderson, *To the Ends*, 88-89.

<sup>188</sup> Fiedler, *The Story*, 394. In the footnote here, Fiedler refers to Melvin Hodges who took up Allen’s ideas and published, *The Indigenous Church. A Complete Handbook on How to Grow Young Churches* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing, 1976). This was still in the programme of the Assemblies of God in the USA at the time of Fiedler’s writing.

<sup>189</sup> Anderson, *To The Ends*, 88.

<sup>190</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 22/07/1934. Burton continues in this letter by describing his visit to Katwebe where ‘Dr Hoyte had put in 5 years of the most devoted conscientious service, & I couldn’t find a single believer. The whole business had fizzled out’. This is almost certainly the same situation he refers to in ‘The Rights and Wrongs’, see: Appendix 5, 3. He calls this the ‘NO RESPONSIBILITY METHOD’.

<sup>191</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 22/07/1934.

<sup>192</sup> *RT* 11:4 (15/2/1935): 10. Emphasis his.

to support them.<sup>193</sup> This financial support was the key difference between Burton's understanding of indigenous church and 'Allenism'.

In an article entitled 'To the faithful Supporters of our native Evangelists [...]' Burton seems to be on the defensive towards those who profess to support Allen's views. Allen had spent comparatively little time 'on the field' in China, eight years compared to Burton's 23 years. Writing in 1938, Burton had Allen, this 'high church Anglican apostle',<sup>194</sup> in his sights when he wrote:

Arm-chair critics can write their articles and books on "The Indigenous Principle," without ever coming to study the problem on the field. A certain Rowland (sic) Allan (sic) wrote a most thought-provoking book 'Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours' (sic) which has aroused the keenest desire to throw as much weight as is possible on the natives themselves. Nobody is more keen on "Indigenous Methods" than the missionaries on the spot. If it were possible we would be MORE than a hundred per cent for "Indigenous Methods." Yet it must be admitted that we on the field know more of conditions, and are more capable of seeing how to apply indigenous principles, than any body or committee of people who have not lived and worked on the spot.<sup>195</sup>

Burton continues by saying missionaries 'on the spot' are seeing 'a whole vast country being changed under the influence of the gospel'.<sup>196</sup> Even when reading a paper for the *The Geographical Society* in 1927, Burton is introduced by the President of the society along Crawfordian lines as the one who has 'the closest touch with the ordinary people' and thus able to give 'an intimate account'.<sup>197</sup> Elsewhere, for *CEMR* readers, Burton iconoclastically describes 'hideous, age-old customs' as 'disappearing before the all-conquering Christ'. He encourages the supporters who are sending their finance by saying that through their gifts, 'these dear black saints [...] are revolutionising not a few villages, not a mere town or two, but nations, tribes, Chieftainships, indeed a very big slice of the central African continent'.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> *CEMR* 62 (September-October 1936): 83-84. The cost being 'from nine-pence (twenty cents) to two shillings and sixpence (sixty cents) per month per Pastor'.

<sup>194</sup> Fiedler, *The Story*, 394.

<sup>195</sup> *CEMR* 75 (November-December 1938): 355. Allen had been a missionary in China from 1895-1903, returning to England because of ill health. This was his missionary experience before writing *Missionary Methods*. See: Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations*, 218. He then spent his latter years (early 1930s to 1947) in Kenya so as to be near his children.

<sup>196</sup> W.F.P. Burton, 'The Country of the Baluba in Central Katanga,' *The Geographical Journal* 70:4 (October 1927): 321.

<sup>197</sup> Burton, 'The Country of the Baluba,' 338.

<sup>198</sup> *CEMR* 75 (November-December 1938): 355.

In contrast to ‘Allenism’, Burton continues to argue in a typically biblical way that such giving is entirely scriptural given that Paul, who was not a native of Philippi did receive support from the Philippian churches.<sup>199</sup> Burton clearly believes this is acting in a responsible way and critiques what he calls the ‘NO RESPONSIBILITY method’ in his 1934 paper on indigenous principles. His argument being here that to be led by the Spirit is not to be tied into unbending principles in various contexts. To do so would be as ludicrous as to insist shipwrecked sailors be forbidden from taking to lifeboats because Paul did that.<sup>200</sup> Burton leads his readers in the aforementioned *CEMR* article to the conclusion that the missionaries can only ‘act as supervisors and directors’ while the ‘patient day by day pastoring in winning of souls is largely done by the black folk themselves’.<sup>201</sup>

Burton believed the mistake made in blindly following ‘Allenism’ was to withdraw support too soon. Burton indubitably desired churches to be self-financing, but as soon as possible, rather than have no support and fail. In theoretical terms, Burton was not at all unique in desiring to see the self-governing, self-propagating and self-financing churches that Allen had written about in his theoretical work. Allen’s writings were embraced firstly by Alice Luce, who wrote three articles in *PE* in 1921,<sup>202</sup> and also much later by the American Melvin Hodges who published his book *The Indigenous Church* in 1953.<sup>203</sup>

The CEM myth concerning the ‘revolutionary-idea-in-those-days’ nature of Burton’s vision of indigenisation is even further diluted when delving further back into history; it becomes apparent that rather than being a radical revolutionary ‘man ahead of his time’, Burton was following a much longer line of thinking towards establishing ‘three-self’ churches. This formula is generally attributed to the thinking of Henry Venn (secretary of the England-based Church Missionary Society (CMS) from 1841 to 1872) and Rufus Anderson (foreign secretary of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions from 1832 to 1866).<sup>204</sup> In 1868, Henry Venn of the CMS had written of the need to see national

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<sup>199</sup> *CEMR* 75 (November-December 1938): 355.

<sup>200</sup> See: Appendix 5, 3.

<sup>201</sup> *CEMR* 75 (November-December 1938): 354.

<sup>202</sup> *PE* 374-375 (08/01/1921): 6; *PE* 376-377 (22/01/1921): 6; *PE* 378-379 (05/02/1921): 6-7.

<sup>203</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*. See: Tarango, *Choosing the Jesus Way*, 36-40 for an analytical account of Luce’s and Hodge’s writings.

<sup>204</sup> Jehu Hanicles, ‘Beyond Christendom: African migration and transformations in global Christianity’, in *Studies in World Christianity* 10:1 (2004): 108, n.16. Elsewhere Hanicles argues the ‘three selfs’ policy pre-dated both Venn and Anderson and credits William Carey, Joshua Marsham and William Ward with the notion, but adds that it was through Venn and Anderson that it matured became a dominant mission strategy in the

characteristics within different national churches.<sup>205</sup> He had described the goal in 1865 as ‘to establish in each district and especially where there are separate languages, a self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending native church’.<sup>206</sup> As far back as 1854 Venn had proposed that a church initially started by the Church of England would eventually become the Church of India, or the Church of Nigeria. The missionary agency was similar to scaffolding that had to be taken down once the building was complete.<sup>207</sup> He talked of the ‘coming euthanasia of the mission’.<sup>208</sup> It will be seen Burton was prepared to pursue this very soon after independence, but struggled while Belgian colonial rule legislated against indigenous churches, making them illegal unless ‘superintended by European missionaries’.<sup>209</sup>

Other missions had already adopted the indigenous theory, at least in terms of policy, if not fully in practice. For example, the Sudan Interior Mission had already done this in 1910,<sup>210</sup> as early as 1765 the Church of England had ordained Philip Quaque of the Gold Coast as its first African priest and in the 1860s Samuel Adjai Crowther as its first non-European bishop.<sup>211</sup> Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853) was also a promoter of the indigenous principle, and is seen by some as the father of faith missions.<sup>212</sup> Groves, wrote about the Tamil evangelist who worked in India, John Christian Arulappan (1810-1867), saying:

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second half of the nineteenth century; see: Jehu Hanicles, *Euthanasia of a Mission: African Church Autonomy in a Colonial Context* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), 25. Two men, living on the other side of the Atlantic, seem to have been working ‘largely independently of each other’ and yet arrived at the same conclusions; see: Wilbert R. Shenk, ‘Henry Venn’ in G.H.Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 698. This congruity is less unforeseen when one realises that the ecumenical conference on mission held in Liverpool, Burton’s birthplace, sixteen years before his birth in 1860, was unequivocal in its ‘commitment to the planting of “native” churches that would be self-reliant, self-supporting and self-governing, and in its opposition to the persistent tendency of missionaries to retain control as the pastors of the “native” churches’; see: Brian Stanley, ‘Christian missions, antislavery and the claims of humanity, c.1813-1873’ in S.Gilley and B.Stanley, eds., *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, 454.

<sup>205</sup> Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (New York: Orbis 1996, 2009), 12.

<sup>206</sup> Henry Venn, *Retrospect and Prospect of the Operations of the Church Missionary Society 1865* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1865), 4-5, cited in Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 167, cited in Brian Stanley ‘The Church of the Three Selves: A Perspective from the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36:3 (2008): 435 .

<sup>207</sup> Dann, *Father*, 451.

<sup>208</sup> Quoted by Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 48.

<sup>209</sup> See: Burton, ‘The Rights and Wrongs,’ Appendix 5, 6.

<sup>210</sup> Fiedler, *The Story*, 50.

<sup>211</sup> Jenkins, *Next*, 49. (The more correct spelling here would be Samuel Ajayi Crowther).

<sup>212</sup> See: Dann, *Father*.



he has declined any *form* of salary, because the people, he says, would not cease to tell him that he preached because he was hired [...] Those who know the natives well will, I am sure, feel with me, that this plan of missions, whereby the native himself is thrown *on God*, is calculated to develop that *individuality of character*, the absence of which has been so deeply deplored, and the remedy for which has so seldom been sought.<sup>213</sup>

Groves' relationship with Arulappan was such that Arulappan, before Groves' death in 1853, referred to Groves as 'my beloved and affectionate father in Christ.'<sup>214</sup> Arulappan is particularly interesting to evaluate in contrast with Burton's stance on the indigenous principle, not only for being an example of an indigenous self-supported worker, but also as he experienced something of a revival in 1860 (seven years after Groves' death). Anderson describes this, along with other revival movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as 'in many respects revolutionary' and also as 'pentecostal' with 'many charismatic gifts' being reported.<sup>215</sup> Burton was aware of Arulappan at least later in his life, thanking Lillie for Lang's book on Groves and writing that it would 'fit well into my thoughts on reading Aroolapan's (sic) life story'. He added, 'Mrs Burton and I look forward with real pleasure to reading it to each other'.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Quoted in G.H.Lang, *The History and Diaries of an Indian Christian* (London: Thinne, 1939), 32. Emphases in original, cited by Anderson, *To The Ends*, 19. It is interesting to note though, that Groves did attempt to raise support for Arulappan in the UK in places such as Tottenham and through *The Missionary Reporter*; see: Dann, *Father*, 260, 490.

<sup>214</sup> Dann, *Father*, 377. It is worth noting that both Groves and Arulappan did struggle financially at times and both borrowed money and had debts; see: Dann, *Father*, 360.

<sup>215</sup> Anderson, *To the Ends*, 18. He sees these revival movements as ultimately influencing 'the emergence of Pentecostalism'.

<sup>216</sup> Burton, letter to Lillie, 29/08/1950. There is pathos in Burton's writing this here, about which Lillie would have been unaware. Hettie was very ill by 1950 with some kind of mental disorder and Burton wrote of the illness in 1952 that had started in 1944, but had become worse since 1950 with her 'striking at' Burton 'with a stick and exhausting herself shrieking and weeping'; he did write that he read to Hettie to try and take her mind off herself. See: Burton, letter to Owen and May Saunders, 23/03/1952.

Figure 10

The Burtons' Mwanza Home, n.d.

Used with permission from CAM archives



The indigenous principle is again seen, a little later, when in 1879, following his missionary experience in India and South America, William Taylor, the Methodist holiness bishop, published *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work*. Taylor records what he sees as success ‘in self-support’ but acknowledges the need for ‘time and patience to secure the pentecostal measure of Pauline soul-saving successes’. Taylor writes of his work in Bombay which he started in 1872: ‘in less than four years, the Holy Spirit thus planted powerful, self-supporting mission Churches in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and many other principal capitals of the Indian Empire’. Taylor continues talking of helping others to ‘reap’ a ‘pentecostal harvest of souls’.<sup>217</sup> The self-supporting principle was applied by Taylor, but it was not without its challenges. For example, he refers to a ‘Bro. Mukerjee’, bemoaning the fact that he had ‘drawn from a missionary teat before he joined our self-supporting line of work’ and, frustrated, says about him, ‘it seems he cannot be weaned’.<sup>218</sup> ‘Bro. Mukerjee’ is mentioned

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<sup>217</sup> William Taylor, *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Association for the Promotion of Holiness, 1879), 37-38.

<sup>218</sup> Taylor, *Pauline Methods*, 122.

in a letter written by J.M.Thoburn, the ‘presiding Elder of the Calcutta District’. Thoburn fears that Mukerjee is about to leave as he ‘heartily dislikes and opposes our policy of not accepting missionary money, and will probably drop out by our not being able to give him a paying appointment’.<sup>219</sup> Again, Taylor’s writing along with Groves’ show that well before Roland Allen published in 1912, there were already those who practised indigenous church and aspired to, applying Venn’s phrase cited above, ‘the euthanasia of the mission’.

In the nascent pentecostal movement, an Indian pentecostal woman, Shorat Chukerbutty who was holding daily services in 1910 was the means through which some Western missionaries, including Alice Luce, were to receive baptism in the Spirit.<sup>220</sup> Luce had been with the CMS and after resigning from them on the grounds of ill health in 1914 became an AG missionary in 1915.<sup>221</sup> As mentioned earlier, Luce had written extensively about the indigenous principle of church planting. This, according to McGee, was the first time in pentecostal writing something more than just a passing reference had been made to indigenous principles<sup>222</sup> and also describes it as ‘perhaps the most noteworthy statement on missiology penned by a Pentecostal in the first half of the century’.<sup>223</sup> She acknowledged having read Allen’s book, but had forgotten his name. Allen had told his grandson his work would not be well known until after his death. It received a fillip to its publicity in pentecostal circles when Polhill publicised it through *FF*.<sup>224</sup> Luce commented that ‘we missionaries all read it, and thought the writer somewhat visionary and unpractical; but that book opened my eyes to the diametrical distinction between our methods of working and those of the New Testament’. It was after her baptism in the Spirit that she realised ‘more and more there is such a thing as doing an apostolic work along apostolic lines’.<sup>225</sup> While Allen does see the role of the Holy Spirit as crucial to the expansion of local churches,<sup>226</sup> and while Luce’s writing reflects much of his work, there is nevertheless what could be seen as, especially from a pentecostal perspective, an added dimension. She writes of God, ‘confirming His message by signs and wonders’ and asks,

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<sup>219</sup> Taylor, *Pauline Methods*, 121.

<sup>220</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 90.

<sup>221</sup> Gary McGee, ‘Pioneers of Pentecost: Alice E. Luce and Henry C. Ball’ in *Assemblies of God Heritage*, 5:2 (Summer 1985): 5-6, 12-15.

<sup>222</sup> McGee, ‘Pioneers,’ 12. McGee also reckons that these principles espoused by Luce, 32 years before Melvin Hodges’ *The Indigenous Church*, guided the AG missions programme ‘over the years’ and explained ‘the remarkable success of Hispanic evangelism in the United States’.

<sup>223</sup> McGee, *Miracles*, 168.

<sup>224</sup> *FF* 24 (February 1915): 2-4.

<sup>225</sup> *PE* 374-375 (08/01/1921): 6.

<sup>226</sup> Anderson, *To the Ends*, 88-89.

When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like the denominational missionaries or shall we look for the signs to follow? [...] A prayerful student of the mission field has written of us Pentecostal missionaries as follows: "If they would bring a Pauline Gospel, they would get Pauline results."<sup>227</sup>

With regard to seeing the churches established becoming self-governing, she wrote of the need for not making 'any distinction whatever founded merely on race or nationality' and went on to say, 'The babes in Christ always need the help of those who are older and more spiritual' but warned readers to make 'greater experience, or spirituality, or capacity for supervision the criterion, and not our nationality'. She concluded her thoughts on this by stating, 'when the Lord raises up spiritually qualified leaders in native churches themselves, what a joy it will be to be subject to them, and to let them take the lead as the Spirit Himself shall guide them'.<sup>228</sup>

Such examples confirm that Burton was certainly not the first to promote the idea of 'indigenous churches'. The question is whether Burton, who claimed in his PMU application that he had little time to read anything but the Bible, had read any of Groves, Taylor or Allen before arriving at Mwanza in 1915. Burton could have been unaware of A.N. Groves until 1950, or had at least not read any biography on him. G H.Lang published his biography on Groves in 1929, which Burton did not read until 1950 when Lillie sent him a copy.<sup>229</sup> Lillie must have written again to ask if he had read the book as Burton wrote again to Lillie in January 1951 saying that he had found it 'most inspiring' but added:

if it had been attractively written it wd. have had double the appeal. I find the same fault with so many P.B. [Plymouth Brethren] books. They are stylized & frowsy instead of being vivid and vital. We have reaped much blessing from it however & are lending it round to our other missionaries.<sup>230</sup>

Burton undoubtedly would have felt something resonating as he read in Lang's book of Groves' criticism of early missionary societies which, 'worked on the plan of Western

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<sup>227</sup> PE 376-377 (22/01/1921): 6. This is in contrast to Allen, who writes that 'such powers [...] can be easily over-rated'. See: Allen, *Missionary Methods*, 47.

<sup>228</sup> PE 378-379 (05/02/1921): 6-7.

<sup>229</sup> Burton, letter to Lillie, 29/08/1950.

<sup>230</sup> Burton, letter to Lillie, 22/01/1951.

organisation and transplanted the organised church systems of the West instead of planting of the apostolic type shown in the New Testament'.<sup>231</sup>

### 3.7.1 Indigenous Emphasis

Freed from the PM opacity, Burton increasingly seeks to guide his missionaries by inculcating them with his principles on indigenous church. In January 1929, writing to Salter, Burton questions whether the missionaries have actually completed their work and should move on to other fields.<sup>232</sup> At the end of 1929, his book on effective local agency (the biography of Shalumbo) is published, and can be read by all his missionaries as well as the public at large.<sup>233</sup> Increasingly, he educates his missionaries by assimilating local agency and integrates it into the workings and vision of the CEM. In 1935 he celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his setting out for Congo by writing about Field Council meetings where '24 of the C.E.M. white missionaries and 22 native elders met to discuss plans for the furtherance of the work'.<sup>234</sup> Burton's leadership of the missionaries includes seeing their eventual demise as the success criterion for his policy on indigenous church. He writes to Salter in 1939 that 'there is no doubt that we have [...] reached the needed limit four (sic) our need of white personnel for the C.E.M.'. He adds that 'native evangelists' are earning money from 'cotton, saw-pit work, and fishing' and this is 'only another step to throw them on their own resources entirely'.<sup>235</sup>

Around this time there were several CEM sub-committees who met at each Field Council meeting: finance, printing, education, statistics and indigenous policy. Different missionaries chaired the various sub-committees. Burton himself chaired the 'Committee for Indigenous Policy',<sup>236</sup> at a time when he wanted to 'concentrate on more important work'. This committee looked at questions such as how to make sure the churches were self-supporting; should Congolese church leaders be independent or pool their 'financial and governmental resources as we do among the whites?' Clear practical concerns were expressed in all the

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<sup>231</sup> Dann, *Father*, 14.

<sup>232</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

<sup>233</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *When God Changes a Man* (London: Victory Press, rev. ed. 1937). This account is examined closely in chapter 5.

<sup>234</sup> Burton, open letter, 13/06/1935.

<sup>235</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 02/05/1939. In this same letter Burton writes about 'natives' being able to do 'much of what they (single women missionaries) undertake, and at a much less cost'. He also writes that the issue of indigenous church was to be discussed at the Executive Council meeting at Kabongo on June 9<sup>th</sup>; frustratingly for the researcher, those minutes are missing from the archives.

<sup>236</sup> Minutes of the Field Council meeting at Mwanza, 1938 (no other date given).

idealism of indigenous church with regard to the pace of its implementation; one question on the agenda was how to ensure 'the natives' were not 'given the impression that we are leaving them to themselves or they will be scared'.<sup>237</sup>

In December 1934 Burton wrote to the AOG mission council attaching nine pages of typed notes, 'not for publication', with the title 'The Rights and Wrongs of Indigenous Principles'.<sup>238</sup> Those notes, presented in full in appendix five, are an important source for Burton's views on indigenous church. The council, with Gee in the chair, acknowledged the article as being of 'great interest and heartily approved', describing it as 'lucid and instructive'.<sup>239</sup>

The maturation of the Congolese leaders is something Burton celebrates when writing to Salter in July 1939: 'Those whom we won in the early years are now the fine leaders of the native church with thousands of believers';<sup>240</sup> fifteen days later he writes again complementing his admiration with affection: 'We have some lovely men among them [...] they are doing magnificent work'.<sup>241</sup> Writing upon his return to Mwanza from a trip to South Africa, Burton writes to all the CEM missionaries, referring to 'our beloved black folk'.<sup>242</sup> The evolving maturity in local agency affected the way Burton viewed missionaries. Two months later he writes how two single women missionaries have found what they can do best in evangelising around Nkulu and Bunda, but adds, 'I personally can't see that they accomplish half as much, or do it half as thoroughly, as some of our native leaders'.<sup>243</sup> Thus rather than making plaintiff pleas for more missionaries, Burton at this time writes an open letter in *CEMR* to candidates offering themselves to come out as missionaries giving reasons as to why they were being rejected. He states,

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<sup>237</sup> Field Conference suggested Agenda for Mwanza, 1938 (no other date given).

<sup>238</sup> Burton, letter to G.J.Tilling, 08/12/1934. Tilling was a member of the council, and received a short covering letter from Burton with the notes attached. The typewriter ribbon was clearly worn and the notes are at times very difficult to read. Burton wrote in the letter, 'Naturally every country, and even every tribe requires local modifications'.

<sup>239</sup> Minutes of Home Reference Council of AOG, 8a, 09/02/1935.

<sup>240</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 12/07/1939.

<sup>241</sup> Burton, letter to Alice and James Salter, 27/07/1939.

<sup>242</sup> Burton, letter to all CEM missionaries, 10/06/1948. He also adds in this letter the way 'big crowds barred the road' upon his return and would not let him and Hettie pass until they had sung their songs of welcome and how 'about a thousand people flocked to our first gospel meeting' adding, 'It was all very precious'.

<sup>243</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 29/08/1939.

We are aiming more and more to bring the native churches to a place where they can do without us [...] We rejoice at every evidence of their growth in grace, even though it makes them less and less dependant upon our help.<sup>244</sup>

Burton adds a phrase, which implies the present missionaries too will one day feel as rejected as those to whom he was now writing, 'A time will inevitably come when we too shall be no longer needed on the field'.<sup>245</sup> Burton wanted his message on the forthcoming redundancy of missionaries to get as wide a readership as possible; further, he requested that the AOG OMC print it in *RT*.<sup>246</sup>

Burton's stance was not always dominant in *CEMR*. Missionaries felt free to disagree and even wrote disapprovingly. Burton's idealism demurred autocracy. With Womersley as its editor, Brown wrote in *CEMR* an article entitled, 'The Value of Missionary Supervision'; it started by saying, 'There are two sides to every question. Here one side of the question of Indigenous Principles is discussed'.<sup>247</sup> In contrast to Burton's celebration of progress, Womersley also wrote in the same issue about 'our native believers' falling short of 'our understanding' and not thinking 'it was always necessary to tell the whole truth'; he continues to write how they have not 'yet developed a sense of exactness or pride in [...] their] work' and their favourite phrase is "'Oh, it'll do'".<sup>248</sup> Salter, 'Burton's brick', would have begged to differ; he writes an article in 1936, 'Is this Indigenous?'. Here he describes a 'Christian native, with a dog for a companion', as 'uncouth and illiterate'. This man knew 'very little about the finer points of Christian doctrine' but had 'a *definite experience with God*'. He witnessed '*signs and wonders*' with many being converted. By the time missionaries arrived there were already 'twenty assemblies, shepherded by local men with recognised overseers'. These were 'self-governing and self-propagating' churches with their 'standard brick' buildings. They were all 'built *entirely by native labour* and without financial assistance from the mission'.<sup>249</sup> *CEMR* readers at the time could have seen this article as contradictory to Womersley's reporting of an 'Oh, it'll do' attitude.

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<sup>244</sup> *CEMR* 51 (November-December 1934): 864-865.

<sup>245</sup> *CEMR* 51 (November-December 1934): 864-865.

<sup>246</sup> Minutes of the HMRC Council of AOG, 8c, 09/02/1935. The open letter quickly appeared in *RT* 11:5 (01/03/1935): 5-6.

<sup>247</sup> *CEMR* 139 (June 1948): 1301. Brown writes that without Burton's continued presence all his efforts would have been 'next to nil'.

<sup>248</sup> *CEMR* 139 (June 1948): 1300-1301.

<sup>249</sup> *CEMR* 62 (September-October 1936): 83. Emphasis his.

The ‘other side’ of the indigenous principle appears again in chapter six. Suffice it to say for the moment, Burton’s idealism eventually stumbled and fell within the CEM. It is clear that from the very start the indigenous church concept could arouse a chorus of missionary anger that was amplified as other missionaries, at least those not sharing Burton’s idealism, became embedded professionally in the CEM. To see Congolese Pentecostals as self-governing was variously seen as a sale of the mission to the private prophets of local agency, an assault on missionary influence or even the erasure of the CEM. Such scornful views moved away from Burton’s vision with amused disdain. Increasingly there were missionaries who were divergent from Burton’s lofty and idealistic vision and followed another one, an echo of indigenous church, which saw the Congolese as ever-needy, ever-dependent. Some followed this vision down into what those supporting the indigenous principle would see as the gutter of paternalism.

John Emmett, speaking in 1980, was the most candid of all missionaries cited in Garrard’s 1983 thesis. Talking about his arrival in Congo in 1948 as a CEM missionary, he is recorded by Garrard in a footnote:

when he (John Emmett) first arrived he was warned by senior missionaries not to have too close a relationship with the Africans. According to him, if there was the chance to do it all over again there would have to be a lot of changes. The Africans should have been granted a lot more real authority to make the kind of decisions which were always left in the hands of the missionaries and they should have been responsible for all church finances.<sup>250</sup>

It should be noted John and Ruth Emmett spent their first seven months at Kipushya, well away from Mwanza, before being sent to pioneer a station on their own in Katea. In the same interview he also told Garrard that ‘some of the missionaries may have thought that Independence would never come. They looked at the stations as theirs and were afraid to let them go because they did not believe that the Africans could do such a good job’.<sup>251</sup> Edmund Rowlands also believed that ‘the Africans had no say at all in the important decisions’.<sup>252</sup> Such assertions from some within the ‘CEM family’ contest the veracity of the totemic ‘indigenous principle’, which was so much bandied about in mission publicity.

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<sup>250</sup> Garrard, ‘History,’ 70, n.64.

<sup>251</sup> Garrard, ‘History,’ 68, n.49.

<sup>252</sup> Garrard, ‘History,’ 68, n.49. It is worth noting that the most forthright criticism of the indigenous principle is only mentioned in footnotes in Garrard’s thesis. Having said this, I can still remember hearing talk among CEM missionaries of Garrard having upset the CEM missionaries with his thesis, which some saw as ‘anti-missionary’.



### 3.7.2 Missionary Control and Succession

Burton, writing to Salter at the start of 1929, demonstrates something of his deep desire to see an indigenous church, and maybe convinces himself he is further down the road than he is in terms of seeing the desire fulfilled:

It is true that we have come to seek God's lost sheep, but above all we have come to set on foot a church: a self governing, self-propagating and self-supporting native church. We are constantly moving about the country, not as much governing the churches as helping them to govern themselves. This is where the native evangelists, pastors and teachers come in. Most of these hundreds of assemblies now have their own elders or leaders who teach, exercise discipline, administer the money gifts of the saints and take the lead generally.<sup>253</sup>

As mentioned above, Burton even ponders whether it is time in 1929 for the missionaries to 'move on to still untouched areas' as he goes on to write, 'The last 13 years have seen the evangelisation not of a town or (sic) neighbourhood but of a whole country'.<sup>254</sup> The man who had expressed his frustration in 1912, believing he could exchange 'hundreds of souls' in Lytham for 'as many thousands of more needy souls in Africa'<sup>255</sup> then writes, 'many hundreds of natives (sic) towns and villages are better acquainted with the gospel than a large proportion of our English towns and villages are'.<sup>256</sup>

### 3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has served as a corrective to any configured narratives portraying early Pentecostalism as neatly seguing from one chapter to the next. The CEM neither emanated from Preston nor was it initiated as a result of any meticulous planning. This chapter has shown it evolved out of early pentecostal entropy, which initially meant Burton travelled to Africa in isolation. The disorder was localised at Mwanza in the clash between Burton's ideal to bring pentecostal flames to a people who had never heard the gospel and the institution of the PM, which in the end could not match Burton's commitment to those people. If both sides shared uncertainty about the way forward, Burton's was more radical.

Radical views about indigenisation were fed by both seeing and influencing a Brethren missionary in Congo and a pentecostal agent in South Africa. An organised mission and missionary societies made less of an impression upon Burton. Burton was not impressed to

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<sup>253</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929. Emphasis his.

<sup>254</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

<sup>255</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 18/11/1912.

<sup>256</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

cleaving to any missionary society, including his own. Although indigenisation was not unique to Burton, he was original enough after fourteen years to even consider that the missionary task had been accomplished. The next two chapters will show his own missionaries played their part in complicating such a consideration.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RELATIONSHIPS WITH CONGOLESE PENTECOSTALS, ESPECIALLY NGOLOMA NDELA BANTU (1916-1939)

Figure 11

Early Bible Study at Mwanza, n.d.<sup>1</sup>

Photo courtesy of CEM archives



#### Introduction

In the last chapter I outlined Burton's relationship with western missionaries. It highlighted his zeal to inculcate his missionaries with his idealistic indigenous church policy. This now moves over the next two chapters to mainly parse Burton's rapport with some pentecostal Congolese trailblazers. It shows not only how the colonial setting, as one would expect, was a hindrance to Burton's ideal, but also how among CEM missionaries as a whole, old-style western missionary orthodoxy refracted Burton's imagination. This is accomplished mainly through a case study of a local agent in each chapter. Both case studies involve those who were freed from slavery in Angola. Both narratives focus in on their recasting as pentecostal leaders after being set free from slavery, and their relationships with Burton and 'his' CEM.

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<sup>1</sup> I chose this picture to introduce the next two chapters as it represents much of what I am writing about. Burton is teaching from the Bible and endeavouring to go far into the hearts and minds of his listeners. The dress, the distance and the respective sitting positions sound a warning bell that is easy to perceive with hindsight.

#### 4.0 The Frontier Narratives of the CEM

The pioneer missionaries of the London Missionary Society in their ‘frontier narratives’ were said to have written ‘as if their stations were founded by their own solitary exertions’, thus disregarding those ‘upon whom they relied heavily’ who had ‘extensive local knowledge of the terrain’.<sup>2</sup> Contrastingly, Burton, having returned from a month of travelling with Hettie ‘mapping out the country’, wrote for a public audience in 1920 saying how he and Hettie had ‘mapped out 700 villages, considerably over 600 of which have never heard the Gospel of the Lord Jesus before’. Waiting for the arrival of new missionaries, he continued writing his ‘frontier narrative’ of the task facing them, confessing his limitations:

We cannot with the missionaries coming, tackle more than one-third of all the great area visited by my wife and myself. And even if we could gospel all of it, this is but a wee bit out of this great Christless land.<sup>3</sup>

Missionary societies of that time have been criticised for portraying their envoys as ‘colonial evangelists’ and as ‘self-propelled Men of History, each a lone bearer of the torch of civilisation and salvation’; such dissemination has retrospectively been dismissed as ‘fantasy’.<sup>4</sup> Contrastingly, and sensibly, Burton recognised the presence of freed slaves from Angola, and indeed, other early Congolese converts to the pentecostal message was the *sine qua non* to his cause of ‘gospel’ Katanga. This can be expounded upon by writing descriptive narratives outlining local agents’ frontline activities and working relationships with missionaries.

##### 4.0.1 Necessary Reading Between the Lines

Scholars have pressed for researchers to ‘go the extra mile in their search for new sources’.<sup>5</sup> Writing frontier narratives involving Congolese agency should include a variety of sources. Given the period being examined and the lack of indigenous written sources, this is particularly difficult when desiring to create an historiography ‘from below’. In general terms, the further back in time one goes, the scarcer the sources,<sup>6</sup> but in pre-literary cultures the effects of time exponentially increase the challenge. Nevertheless, the fact that it is

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<sup>2</sup> John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 78.

<sup>3</sup> *PE*, 328-329 (21/02/1920): 11.

<sup>4</sup> Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation 2*, 78. The authors here are writing about the London Missionary Society among the Tswana people in South Africa and their reliance on interpreters in the nineteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> van der Laan, ‘Historical,’ 210.

<sup>6</sup> Anderson, *An Introduction*, 176.

possible at all to gain any understanding of the narratives of the Congolese pentecostal pioneers from the white missionary sources does reflect a certain appreciation of local agency in the thinking of at least some of these early CEM missionaries.

Congolese sources for this period are rare and even when writings from them are found they have been filtered through white missionary editors to appear in *CEMR*, and this has to be borne in mind. As mentioned earlier, Burton's missionaries did give him 'full permission' to redact submissions for *CEMR*.<sup>7</sup> Redaction of Congolese writers is not stated as a policy, but assumed. Where a white racial bias is perceived, 'reading between the lines' becomes both 'necessary'<sup>8</sup> and equally, in terms of the exactitude of the narrative, 'dangerous'.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless I risk a narrative here that takes 'affirmative action' in redressing the balance in favour of indigenous sources.<sup>10</sup> I demonstrate not only Burton's seminal role, but also the vivacious and crucial role played by the many 'native evangelists' about whom so little has comparatively been written.

#### **4.0.2 The Necessity of Congolese Agency**

The necessity of Congolese agency was recorded in the earliest CEM missionary conferences:

The only way to reach adequately the vast number of villages in our sphere of influence is by an army of native evangelists. Native understands native, he preaches in his mother tongue, he is enjoying his natural climate, and travelling presents no difficulties to him.<sup>11</sup>

The reporting of the conference stated how seventeen white missionaries, 'even if it were possible' for them to 'neglect all other work', could reach no more than fifty villages a day. However, 'evangelists already trained and working' were regularly visiting 'more than ten times that number' and adds that 'in many of these villages schools have been put up for the

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<sup>7</sup> Minutes of the Field Council Meetings, January 1928 (No exact date and no location given on this occasion), 10. The exact wording used is 'to revise letters and matter sent for the magazine'.

<sup>8</sup> Anderson, *An Introduction*, 176-177.

<sup>9</sup> van der Laan, 'Historical,' 210.

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, 'Revising Pentecostal,' 166.

<sup>11</sup> *CEMR* 10 (October-December 1925): 106. This was stated at the Mwanza missionary conference (with a total of seventeen missionaries from six stations) of 1925. These are the earliest extant minutes of any field conference. Burton was accepted as the 'Chairman of the Conference'; see: Minutes of the Conference held at Mwanza, October 1925, No.1.

converts to learn to read their own Bibles'.<sup>12</sup> Local agency was deployed in these schools. Salter wrote that 'a policy of intensive school work' had begun in 1920 and 'buildings were erected in many villages for this purpose'.<sup>13</sup> This was viewed as essential for indigenisation to succeed. Such early statements about education from Salter negate Maxwell, who wrote that the CEM missionaries had 'neither the resources nor the inclination' to build schools until the 1930s.<sup>14</sup> While Burton certainly did emphasise evangelism that led to church planting over other missionary activities, the CEM was not like other faith missions, such as AIM, which saw education as 'an enticement to "worldliness"'.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, Burton could write in May 1930 of a school 'session' ending at Mwanza with 'at least 70% of the young folk' converted and professing 'faith in Christ'.<sup>16</sup>

If this were all the reportage, potential white pentecostal missionaries could imagine they were not required. However, the report, written by Burton in *CEMR*, continues with a paragraph headed, 'WHITE SUPERVISION ESSENTIAL'. It explains, 'Natives cannot be sent too far away from white supervision, or be left to themselves, as they are apt to get erratic in doctrine and turn to excess'. Reference is then made to 'self-styled prophets' who have come on the scene and caused 'a great deal of harm to be done'. The conclusion puts the propinquity of this supervision into perspective, 'we prefer native evangelists to work no further than five days from a white missionary, if possible'.<sup>17</sup> It is worth noting that in the minutes of this conference it was decided that 'evangelists bring in their reports and offerings monthly to the missionary in charge'.<sup>18</sup>

In November 1925, in a private letter to Salter, Burton palliatively describes his evangelists:

we praise God that the greater number of them have a real passion for souls, but a few seem to get settled into a rut, and do not do much for God or for themselves. Also we have found some who are far too fond of native beer [...] But considering the rebuffs

<sup>12</sup> *CEMR* 10 (October-December 1925): 106.

<sup>13</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, 20

<sup>14</sup> David Maxwell, 'Freed Slaves, Missionaries and Respectability: The Expansion of the Christian Frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo' *Journal of African History* 54:1 (2013): 85, n.26.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Morad, 'The Founding Principles of the Africa Inland Mission and their Interaction with the African Context in Kenya' (PhD, Edinburgh University, 1997), 119-120, 218-219, cited by Emma Wild-Wood, in *Migration and Christian Identity in Congo (DRC)* (Leiden: Brill 2008), 33.

<sup>16</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 08/05/1930.

<sup>17</sup> *CEMR* 10 (October-December 1925): 107. Emphasis his.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Mwanza Conference, No. 8, October 1925.

and hard times that they go through, I feel that their constancy is a miracle of God and a matter of praise continually.<sup>19</sup>

Burton's willingness to praise God for his evangelists (even the ones stuck in a rut and the beer-drinking ones) will be seen in the following chapter to be in stark contrast to Shalumbo's experience with one Kipushya missionary. Burton believed he needed white missionaries, but understood there was far more that could be done through local agency.

In 1929, four years after this, Burton wrote to Salter shortly after completing *When God Changes a Man*, and described the mission's objective as setting up a Congolese church where the missionaries did not govern the churches, but 'helped' the Congolese to 'govern themselves', stating that already most of the churches established had leaders who 'can take the lead generally'. He described their western missionary work as being, 'to lay a good foundation as master-builders' and elucidates his ideal, that 'into the future it is the native pastors and teachers who will do the building thereon'.<sup>20</sup>

Burton viewed the training of evangelists as fundamental. In another letter to Salter in 1929, he writes how Johnstone at Kipushya is 'extending to villages North of Kabinda'. Burton's response to Johnstone's initiative among the Basongye is, 'I must get up there & see what can be done'. While Burton feels the need to get involved, it is not to do the actual ground-breaking himself, but he writes, 'One thing I am most grateful for:- Mr. Johnstone is aware at last to the necessity of training a big band of native workers, and soon he should be able to put quite a formidable force of evangelists into the field'. He then unequivocally states, 'the preparation of evangelists is one of our most important tasks'.<sup>21</sup>

What role the evangelists played and how Burton and his missionaries viewed them, is what needs to be further examined in this chapter. Were they simply doing the evangelistic work that they could do better than the missionaries on behalf of the missionaries or were they being prepared to lead Congolese Pentecostalism? In other words, how much was Burton able and willing to pursue his ideal: 'into the future it is the native pastors and teachers who will do the building thereon'.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 11/11/1925.

<sup>20</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

<sup>21</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 05/04/1929.

<sup>22</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

#### 4.1 Ngoloma: one of the ‘Native Evangelists’

Few have ever written about the main character of this chapter. It is only now in pentecostal historiography that the full name of Ngoloma Ndela Bantu has been written down.<sup>23</sup> The chronicle of Ngoloma is presented here as case study of a frontier narrative. It firstly proves the requirement of local agency; secondly it shows the need to read between the lines of biased archival writing; and thirdly it serves as a litmus test for the CEM’s commitment to Burton’s indigenisation.

Burton visited the ‘great villages along the Kisale swamp’ in 1915. He described passing through them as a ‘sore trial’. He detailed the ‘smell of decayed fish, the lack of any semblance of sanitation or decency, the cheeky effrontery and shocking, unblushing immorality of the natives [which] were too bad for description’. The mosquito-infested marshes of Kisale were actually larger than Surrey, Kikondja being the chief village.<sup>24</sup> Such language shows Burton risked reducing his pentecostal message into converting ‘the “natives” into “civilized” Christians’.<sup>25</sup>

Later on in 1915, when a delegation from Kisale arrived at Mwanza to ask for a missionary to be sent, Burton, after inappropriately paying them for the gifts they had brought, told them that an evangelist would be sent as soon as possible.<sup>26</sup> There is a distinction in Burton’s thinking between an evangelist and a missionary as becomes apparent in the narrative below. The promise of an evangelist would not be fulfilled until nearly five years later, when

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<sup>23</sup> Trudon Kabange, email message to the author, 16/04/2016. Trudon Kabange, from Kamina in Katanga, works in the administrative offices of the CPCO. He contacted the great grandson of Ngoloma, currently living in Kinshasa to provide this full name. Ngoloma originally had another name before his conversion, Katwamba. The few who have written about him are: Anderson, who does name him along with other little-written-about local agents in his global overview: *Spreading Fires*, 183-184, 269-270, 284; Garrard who gives nine lines to him in his long thesis; see: Garrard: ‘History,’ 56; also Maxwell who devotes seven lines to him in Maxwell, ‘Freed,’ 91.

<sup>24</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 20. Burton also writes here that his carriers were almost killed when he refused permission for them ‘to undergo the poison trial’ after being falsely accused of ‘committing some offence’. Elsewhere Burton explains more fully what is involved in the poison trial: in short drinking a poisonous substance from a gourd in front of one’s accuser and either vomiting (to prove innocence) or dying (to establish guilt). See: Burton, *Luba*, 68-69.

<sup>25</sup> Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation*, 7. The Comaroffs add that many western missionaries to Africa failed to realise that such a goal, even in those terms, necessitated erasing ‘the distinctions on which colonialism was founded’.

<sup>26</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 20. To pay for a gift is particularly considered as rude. Claude finds it hard to believe the delegation would have easily accepted the payment and would have been highly embarrassed; Claude email message to the author, 17/04/2016.



Ngoloma was sent to Kisale.<sup>27</sup> (Burton only returned himself in 1924 to ‘visit those out-stations which [would] be [under] Bro. Hodgson’s care D.V. when he returns’).<sup>28</sup>

Ngoloma<sup>29</sup> is first mentioned in *CEMR* at the start of 1924.<sup>30</sup> He is illustrative of the many Congolese pentecostal pioneers about whom a narrative can only be constructed through numerous archival sources, but about whom, unlike others such as Mudishi<sup>31</sup> and Shalumbo, no article, and certainly no book has ever been written.<sup>32</sup> In that sense, in missionary writing, even from among the Congolese, he is a minor ‘player’ in terms of space given in Congolese pentecostal historiography. This is what makes his narrative and interaction with Burton and other missionaries all the more attractive in researching the role played by the many, whom Burton and his missionaries often referred to anonymously as, ‘native evangelists’.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4.1.1 Ngoloma the Slave

Burton describes Ngoloma in *CEMR* as having been an ‘unfortunate slave’ who had been ‘carried off to Angola’.<sup>34</sup> Ngoloma was one of the many slaves who were freed in Angola.<sup>35</sup> A source interviewed by Garrard in 1981, stated Ngoloma was the son of a counsellor at Mulenda.<sup>36</sup> Hodgson wrote he was the son of Chief Mukumbia, adding that Ngoloma had been kidnapped as a fifteen-year old when following a wounded antelope some distance away from his village. The man behind the kidnapping was a ‘smaller chief’ who wanted to exact

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<sup>27</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 20. Although Burton adds that on several occasions ‘lads’ were sent for visits of a week to two weeks, and on one of these occasions 135 ‘natives’ gathered in public to burn their charms, ‘as they wanted Jesus’.

<sup>28</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 19/04/1924.

<sup>29</sup> He was previously called Katwamba, but I am using the name he used after his conversion to Christianity as this is the name always given to him in *CEMR*, which does not mention his pre-Christian name. Congolese contacts found his great grandson living in Kinshasa who inform me his full name was Ngoloma Ndela Bantu, which means ‘the keeper of people’, see: Trudon Kabange, email message to the author, 16/04/216.

<sup>30</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January- March 1924): 18.

<sup>31</sup> Burton, *MUDISHI*. The life of this evangelist is told by Burton and described by him not as ‘a unique, outstanding man’ but as a sample of ‘six hundred native evangelists dedicated to a similar work’. See Burton, *MUDISHI*, 192.

<sup>32</sup> Hodgson however, does give two albeit short, useful chapters to Ngoloma that give detail on his experience as a slave and his return journey to Katanga, Edmund Hodgson, *Out of Darkness: The Story of an Indigenous Church in the Belgian Congo* (London: Victory Press, 1946), 29-32 and 38-43. Maxwell mentions his name eight times in all in ‘Freed,’ 91, 95, 97, 101.

<sup>33</sup> For example, *Report of the Work*, (31/05/1922): 2, 4, 5; *CEMR* 1 (July-August 1923): 5, 8, 11 twice.

<sup>34</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 199.

<sup>35</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January- March 1924): 21. See also Hodgson’s report in *CEMR* 15 (January-March 1927): 195. More detail on the legal status of slaves and their eventual emancipation is covered in chapter five.

<sup>36</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, interview with Garrard at Kamina on 28/08/1981; see: Garrard, ‘History,’ 48, n.54

revenge on Mukumbia for relatives lost from an earlier raid by Mukumbia, hence the desire to take away Mukumbia's 'favourite son'.<sup>37</sup>

Ngoloma was bound and gagged and sold to slave traders bound for Angola with around five hundred other slaves.<sup>38</sup> After a year's 'slave trek' from Katanga to Angola, he was sold eventually for twenty pounds as a slave to work on plantations. He would have been around sixteen years old at this time. As he matured he was viewed as a 'natural born leader' and 'made overseer'.<sup>39</sup>

In Angola Ngoloma heard the 'Gospel message' and 'found Christ'.<sup>40</sup> He received the Christian message directly from an Angolan chief named Kandyundu. Kandyundu was not pentecostal. He had been taken into the home of a missionary whom Garrard refers to as 'Mr Kole' after he had fallen sick.<sup>41</sup> Kole was actually Walter Currie, the first Canadian Congregationalist missionary sent to Angola in 1886,<sup>42</sup> returning to Canada in 1911 through ill health.<sup>43</sup> The Basongye and Baluba have difficulty pronouncing 'r', so Currie would have been pronounced 'Ko-leh'.

Shambelo (who appears in the next chapter) writes in *CEMR* that when Kandyundu had recovered and left Currie's home, he returned and released all his slaves, including Shambelo and Ngoloma.<sup>44</sup> This would have been at great economic cost to himself. According to Currie's diary, Kandyundu had over one hundred slaves; he also gives the date as being 1898.<sup>45</sup> The fact that Burton does not mention Currie in *Man*, or edit Shambelo's writing in *CEMR* and keeps his name as 'Kole', indicates Burton was unaware of who Currie was, even

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<sup>37</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 27.

<sup>38</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 29-32. The price being 'ten yards of calico and a small bag of gunpowder'.

<sup>39</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 39. The next chapter gives far more detail about the slave trade and conditions of those taken on the trail to Angola.

<sup>40</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 39.

<sup>41</sup> Kusomba Shimioni, interview.

<sup>42</sup> Lawrence W. Henderson, 'Protestantism: A Tribal Religion' in R. Parsons, ed. *Windows on Africa: A Symposium* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 65.

<sup>43</sup> The United Church of Canada Archives, 'Walter T. Currie fonds,' Accessed 27/06/14, <http://www.archeion.ca/walter-t-currie-fonds>. It says here Currie died in 1915 in British Columbia, aged 58.

<sup>44</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 23.

<sup>45</sup> Jeanne Cannizzo, 'Gathering Souls and Objects: Missionary Collections' in T. Barringer and T. Flynn, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum (Museum Meanings)* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), 160. Cannizzo also mentions the rejection of polygamy as affecting Kandyundu economically. Currie's figure of over one hundred slaves concurs with Shambelo's report in *CEMR* of his being one of hundreds of slaves owned by Kandyundu, see: *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 23.

though Shambelo had written about him in 1924. Currie, a medical doctor, born ‘into a middle class family’ was comparable to Burton in his passionate collecting of artefacts, which were exhibited in 1989 as ‘The Currie Collection’ at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.<sup>46</sup>

Currie looked after Kandyundu in his own home and ‘nursed him, until God healed him of his disease and saved his soul’. Kandyundu then went back to his own village where he was chief and preached. Shambelo (who was in the same group as Ngoloma) states, ‘all his village [including Ngoloma] turned to God’. The result of the mass acceptance of the gospel by the village meant not only polygamists setting ‘the other wives free’ but also those ‘who possessed slaves gave them liberty’.<sup>47</sup> It was at this time that Ngoloma married a ‘local Christian woman’.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Choosing Mwanza

In 1911, with newfound freedom thanks to Kandyundu’s conversion, Ngoloma started the journey back to Katanga. This journey was ‘a gospel crusade that took two years’.<sup>49</sup> Ngoloma did not therefore arrive with the earlier and better-documented group of freed slaves led by Shalumbo, which will be examined in the next chapter. Ngoloma was in a second group to arrive at Mwanza. This group went via Kabongo; some of them stayed a longer time at Kabongo, (nine of whom even settled there to work with the Methodists) whereas Ngoloma only stayed there ‘a short time’ before moving to Mwanza.<sup>50</sup> His reason for leaving Kabongo so quickly was his ‘deciding to go to the nearest Mission station to his home’.

Before arriving at Mwanza, Ngoloma had stayed with a ‘powerful chief’ who had offered him a ‘head-councillorship and thirty villages’ if he would remain with him. Hodgson minimally describes how Ngoloma refused this offer and simply became a ‘great help as a

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<sup>46</sup> Jeanne Cannizzo, ‘*Into the Heart of Africa, Guide to the Exhibition of the same name, 06/11/1989-06/08/1990*,’ (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989). Accessed 12/08/2014, <https://archive.org/stream/intoheartofafric00roya#page/34/mode/2up>. There is an interesting picture taken by Currie on page 35 of this guide, ‘Toronto Avenue at Chisamba Mission Station’ depicting a row of neatly built square houses in a straight line, reflecting Currie’s desire, similar to Burton’s, to impose order on what was seen as ‘cultural confusion and social chaos’.

<sup>47</sup> CEMR 3 (January-March 1924): 23. Shambelo, who gives this information, was in the same group: see: Kusomba Shimoni, interview.

<sup>48</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 39-40

<sup>49</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 40. Hodgson does not consider the time Ngoloma would have had to stay in Angola to serve out his period of slavery, although technically free in 1911. This will be explained in chapter five, p.173, n.169.

<sup>50</sup> Kusomba Shimoni, interview.

carpenter and builder, as well as evangelist' to Burton.<sup>51</sup> Ngoloma was not only the son of a chief, but also had had the experience of travelling and life in another culture. There is no record of Burton acknowledging what could be perceived as Ngoloma's sacrificial choice. The commonality of missionaries and Congolese in terms of selfless choices for advancing 'The Gospel' is not always recorded with parity. For example, Garfield and May Vale<sup>52</sup> mention in one sentence, 'one of our evangelists' as having been poisoned by those who were 'rebellious' to the Gospel at a village named Kayeye without even naming him. They simply added that they 'trust that the martyr's sacrifice will yet yield a harvest of souls'. In the same paragraph revealing the unnamed evangelist's death, they mention how wet they became walking through long wet grass towards Kayeye.<sup>53</sup> May Vale did later go on to write at the end of her first term as a missionary that she 'blushed with shame at any thought of what I have sacrificed'.<sup>54</sup>

Having turned down 'head-councillorship and thirty villages', Ngoloma arrived at Mwanza joining those from the other group of freed slaves. Burton welcomed him and gave this 'big man' carpentry training for a year.<sup>55</sup> Burton later refers to him as his 'chief carpenter'.<sup>56</sup> During this time Ngoloma was not only baptised in water, but also went with Burton to spend afternoons 'out in the villages' evangelising with him.<sup>57</sup>

The two groups of freed slaves at Mwanza were divided 'into two camps' according to the two 'denominations' represented in Angola, each camp 'considering itself better than the other'. The depth of the animosity is described by Burton as 'hidden bickering and smouldering jealousies'.<sup>58</sup> Burton adds that the Bekalebwe (Basongye) who had been brought back to Mwanza from Shalumbo's trip to Kipushya added a tribal dimension to the denominational one with 'Bekalebwe against Baluba and both against the Angola (sic) freed

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<sup>51</sup> Hodgson, *Out*, 41

<sup>52</sup> CEM missionaries from 1926-1934. Garfield had previously been with the PMU in the Kalembelembe field; when he switched to the CEM, he walked all the way.

<sup>53</sup> *CEMR* 20 (April-June 1928): 269.

<sup>54</sup> *CEMR* 22 (October-December 1928): 319.

<sup>55</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January- March 1924): 21. *God Working*, 168.

<sup>56</sup> *RFWFPB* 18 (18/09/1920): 2.

<sup>57</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 120. Burton refers to 'two faithful workers in my carpenter's shop' without naming them. This was written in November 1918. Without being named, one can suspect Ngoloma is one of them.

<sup>58</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (20/01/1920): 6. The two denominations being Brethren and Congregationalist.

slaves'.<sup>59</sup> The two factions were however, united in their initial resistance to teaching on baptism in the Spirit.<sup>60</sup> Ngoloma, with the others, albeit in his desire to be 'loyal and faithful to the light [... he] had received',<sup>61</sup> was a source of frustration to Burton's pentecostal fervour. They all had the habit of refusing anything 'outside their own particular line of truth and conduct' and would often say, 'Oh, they didn't do it in that manner in Angola'. What seemed all the more irksome for Burton was the fact that such attitudes and pronouncements 'influenced our own growing local Native Christian church against these blessed and vital truths of God's Word'.<sup>62</sup> Burton realised the need for making a distinction between what he thought was biblical and what he judged was 'the missionary tradition and precedent from Angola'.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Luban Pentecost

In December 1919, Burton was ready to privately express the extent of his frustration with Brethren teaching when writing to Salter:

I hope to call together all our evangelists, & native Christians for a week's bible school. Our native Christians are in some cases taking a definite stand against divine healing & the baptism in the Holy Spirit [...] I want to give them all a good week's bible teaching, & also show them definitely lovingly, & finally where we stand, & encourage all real seekers to come right out & make a clear cut stand [...] I'd rather work with one spirit-filled man than have 50 helpers who only follow half the scriptures & half the tradition of "Nana Lane" & Co.<sup>64</sup>

Burton's exasperation with the Brethren teaching of 'Lane & Co.' must have been felt by Ngoloma and the other freed slaves from his group, even if they were from another denomination. Ngoloma was not prominent in this opposition; he was not among three names that Burton gave to Salter as being conspicuous in the stance against healing and baptism in the Spirit.<sup>65</sup>

In January 1920, this 'week's bible school' took place. For the first three days Burton says that he 'hammered upon the one dominant note of submission to God's Word', and stressed

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<sup>59</sup> RFWFPB 17 (20/01/1920): 6

<sup>60</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 199.

<sup>61</sup> RFWFPB 17 (20/01/1920): 2.

<sup>62</sup> RFWFPB 17 (20/01/1920): 3.

<sup>63</sup> RFWFPB 17 (20/01/1920): 3.

<sup>64</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 18/12/1919. The names of these Brethren missionaries appear more in the next chapter.

<sup>65</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 18/12/1919. Noma, Kadimi and Shakayobo being the three names listed.

to his 'evangelists and native Christians' that he 'would rather work with one Native entirely surrendered to God and filled with His Spirit, rather than with a thousand who powerlessly, blindly follow the Scriptureless need for traditions of men'.<sup>66</sup> The intensity of Burton's insistence on a pentecostal experience for Ngoloma, and all the other Congolese Christians was in spite of his good rapport with Brethren missionary, Dan Crawford, whom he referred to as his 'nearest missionary neighbour'.<sup>67</sup> Burton, 'the firebrand',<sup>68</sup> was seemingly looking for partnerships where a pentecostal experience was a distinctive feature of his agents.

On the fourth day of this week, at what Burton went on to refer to as 'the Luban Pentecost', Burton made an appeal for all those who wanted to respond to his three days of teaching to come forward 'to pray for, and to receive the Holy Spirit'. Of the one hundred and sixty present, most came forward.<sup>69</sup> Ngoloma was 'one of the first to receive the Holy Ghost'.<sup>70</sup> The 'Luban Pentecost' meeting lasted from 10am to 3pm and Ngoloma experienced his baptism in the Spirit in the first few minutes according to Burton.<sup>71</sup> Burton, who had laid hands on him, had no desire to restrict the imparting of this quintessential hallmark of pentecostal experience to the white missionary, he immediately employed those whom he could now view as pentecostal in experience, to lay hands on their fellow Congolese believers.<sup>72</sup> Their laying on of hands was effective and any uncertainty concerning Burton's estimation of Ngoloma at this time can be unequivocally removed when Burton's report on the 'Luban Pentecost' shows a picture of Ngoloma (with Kangoe), and Burton writes the caption to accompany the picture:

Two of our native overseers. These men now take practically the same place and responsibility with regard to the young native churches as the white missionaries. Thus, if anything occurred necessitating the withdrawal of white workers, the native believers would still have steady godly men to whom to look for help and direction.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (20/01/1920): 3.

<sup>67</sup> By 1932, six years after Crawford's death, the Wildings become Burton's nearest neighbours; see: *CEMR* 36 (April-June 1932): 561.

<sup>68</sup> Womersley's word to describe Burton: Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 33.

<sup>69</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (20/01/1920): 3. In a later report, Burton says one hundred and twenty were present that day; whether that was a misprint or Burton changing the figures to allude to Acts 2 cannot be said. *PE* 336-337 (17/04/1920): 11.

<sup>70</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January- March 1924): 21.

<sup>71</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (20/01/1920): 4.

<sup>72</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 199.

<sup>73</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 207. The report was written in January 1920, but photos and accompanying captions would have been added in 1922 for the publication of Moorhead's book; see: 'June Report of Congo Evangelistic Mission' (30/05/1922): 1-2.

Figure 12

Kangoe and Ngoloma (on the right), c.1921

From Missionary Pioneering



#### 4.1.4 Pioneering in Kikondja and the Kisale Swamps

Kikondja tyrannically ruled the Kisale region.<sup>74</sup> Burton had intervened when people from Mwanza had tried to assassinate Kikondja. Burton warned them of consequences from the Belgian authorities for such an action and told them they had no need to seek revenge saying, ‘vengeance belonged to the Lord’.<sup>75</sup> Afterwards, although initially irritated with Burton for dissuading them from killing the chief, people were apparently reassured when this chief lost his life, trampled upon by an elephant. His successor sent a message to Mwanza ‘begging for a Gospel messenger to be sent’. The immediate reaction from those at Mwanza was cautious, especially given the number of mosquitoes at Kisale.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> For more information on the history of Kikondja chiefs, see: Burton, *Luba*, 11-13.

<sup>75</sup> Deuteronomy 32:35

<sup>76</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 166-168. People being killed by elephants was more common than it might appear. For example, J.H.Geddes writes about visiting the villages of the Kisale swamps and finding many deserted villages due to the effects of elephants ‘not in ones and twos, but in twenties and thirties’. See: *CEMR* 40 (January-February 1933): 652; Burton reported in 1924 that a ‘white stranger’ was ‘stamped to pieces’ near Kisanga, being the second such case in the last few months, see: Burton, letter to Salter, 25/03/1924. Burton also describes to Salter a close encounter with a herd of elephants telling how his ‘carriers had walked into

Ngoloma had not initially wanted to go out preaching. His wife had a big goitre on her neck and had been told by ‘a missionary out west’ that she was ‘dying with cancer’. However, after ‘the Luban Pentecost’ Ngoloma received ‘a definite call to Kisale’ and his wife was ‘suddenly’ healed.<sup>77</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, (who is the current station pastor at Mwanza) stressed to me that Ngoloma only ever went to Kisale because the Holy Spirit made him go; no one else wanted to go because of the mosquitoes. He said ‘the Holy Spirit was the real reason Ngoloma went’.<sup>78</sup> Regarding this call to Kisale, Burton writes how Ngoloma, his wife and the elders of the church at Mwanza all separately went and saw Burton and told him of the ‘feeling’ that Ngoloma and his wife should go to Kisale without speaking to one another.<sup>79</sup> Ngoloma then followed through on his call to the mosquito-infested area where no one else would venture, and built himself a house at Kisale with help from ‘a number of native believers’ in 1920. After this, while Burton was on furlough making moves to found AOG, Salter and Hodgson went and built a ‘fine big chapel’ in Kikondja, the ‘head village’.<sup>80</sup>

Ngoloma, in Burton’s non-racial terms, ‘became the first preacher of the Gospel to live permanently among the great fishing villages’.<sup>81</sup> Nine months after this, Burton was able to write of the fruit of Ngoloma’s work saying that at Kisale, sixty have professed salvation and been baptised and ‘often over five hundred attend the Gospel services, and these include the chief and some of his head men’.<sup>82</sup> Kazembe told me his memory of hearing Ngoloma preach as a young boy and described Ngoloma’s reputation of being a ‘great preacher’.<sup>83</sup> Yumba Makuba, younger than Kazembe, never heard Ngoloma preach, but stated, ‘everyone remembered Ngoloma’s preaching’, and that he was ‘*un grand prédicateur*’ [a great preacher].<sup>84</sup> The effectiveness of Ngoloma’s ministry in nine months (five hundred attending) is worth contrasting with Burton’s at Mwanza. After Burton’s first ‘four-and-a-half years’ at Mwanza, he saw one day ‘eighty-seven believers gathered around the Lord’s table’; he said it

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them not realising they were there; “The great beasts were furious, and screamed in a way that was almost unnerving”. See: Burton, letter to Salter, 19/09/1928. He wrote to Philip Myerscough on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1939 about having to send ‘a native’ with his gun to shoot the bull in a herd of hundreds of elephants.

<sup>77</sup> CEMR 3 (January-March 1924): 21.

<sup>78</sup> Ilunga Kazembe, interview with the author, at Luamba on 20/07/2014.

<sup>79</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 83.

<sup>80</sup> CEMR 3 (January-March 1924): 21. For a description of Kikondja, see: E. Hodgson, *Fishing for Congo Fisher Folk* (London: AOG, 1934), 9-14.

<sup>81</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 83. Burton adds here that another freed slave, Musoka, soon started working at the other end of the lake-side villages.

<sup>82</sup> RFWFPB 18 (18/09/1920): 2.

<sup>83</sup> Kazembe, interview.

<sup>84</sup> Yumba Makuba, interview with the author, 20/07/2014. Makuba is the pastor of the church at Luamba. Neither Kazembe or Makuba knew how old they were in 2014.



meant his heart ‘nearly burst’ and ‘the well-springs of our being overflowed in boundless thankfulness to God, and how again and again when we sought words to praise Him for this band of rejoicing Christians, all that we could pour out at His feet was tears of gratitude’.<sup>85</sup>

Ngoloma’s effectiveness was not only in seeing the church community established but in contributing to a transformation of the milieu. As he had done in one location on his journey ‘home’ from Angola, he established a friendship with the chief, becoming his ‘confidential adviser’<sup>86</sup> and spent much time teaching him to read and write. Evidence of Ngoloma’s teaching are that Burton received letters the chief had written himself and, although ‘not yet saved’, the chief followed Burton’s preaching in his own testament when Burton visited Kisale to preach. Burton endorses Ngoloma as an effective worker, not only because Burton witnesses him baptising converts in the lake (including the chief’s cousin and his oldest son) but also because of the revolution Ngoloma has caused through influencing the chief to transform the environment. Burton refers to this change as the ‘the gospel with its blessed concomitants of order, cleanliness and peace’.<sup>87</sup> Prior to Ngoloma’s arrival, ‘Drunkenness, quarrelling, smells and dirt were everywhere’. There was no sanitary system and the huts were ‘built higgledy-piggledy, without any attempt at regularity or order’. Burton records the revolution saying Ngoloma’s work resulted in ‘good wide streets, with every man’s house built inside a separate enclosure, having simple but efficient sanitary accommodation’. Burton could even write, ‘Kikondja is fast becoming the model village of the district’. Burton also notes that Ngoloma also ‘helped the chief to make an excellent house’.<sup>88</sup> Ngoloma’s influence meant Burton wrote in March 1924, ‘Chief Kikondja has been a real friend to the mission and is standing behind every move’.<sup>89</sup>

A small picture of Ngoloma appears in *CEMR* standing next to a seated Chief Kikondja with a good number of his wives and his counsellors. It is very interesting to see how both the chief and Ngoloma are in western dress, shirt and tie and white trousers and all the male counsellors, and at least one of the wives, are bare-chested and in traditional dress.<sup>90</sup> It must be borne in mind Ngoloma is one of Burton’s many evangelists, and his work is not as well

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<sup>85</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 205.

<sup>86</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 168.

<sup>87</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 22.

<sup>88</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 168.

<sup>89</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 25/03/1924. Having said this, Chief Kikondja never was converted.

<sup>90</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 22. The picture is too poor a quality to reproduce here. In the next chapter a similar picture, in terms of dress, is examined with Shalumbo.

documented as that of several others. His contribution could be viewed as dramatic in pentecostal terms of establishing a church community and externally transforming Kisale. Ngoloma had gone into a mosquito-ridden area, where many feared to go and proved to be very effective. In addition, four miles away, two other evangelists, ‘young men’ (Kantontoka and Masokoyti) were sent, not by Burton, but by Ngoloma. They saw ‘a really glorious revival, and practically the whole village of about 1,100 souls had made some profession of faith in the Lord Jesus’.<sup>91</sup> This ‘revival’, led by local agency, was never reported in *CEMR*. This is the same Masokoyti who later, along with Beseka, was to accuse Burton of colluding with colonial powers.

#### 4.1.5 Ngoloma’s Pressures

Although the chief was never converted, his cousin was baptised at the same time that Ngoloma, aided by Kantontoka, baptised Ngoloma’s oldest son.<sup>92</sup> Ngoloma’s increasing influence upon the chief provoked his jealous counsellors to tell him that Ngoloma would be remembered far more than he ever would be.<sup>93</sup> Ngoloma’s role in the establishment of the early pentecostal church in Kisale was such that new believers were even critically called ‘Ngoloma’s subjects’.<sup>94</sup> Ngoloma also faced opposition from the ‘envious eyes’ of Roman Catholics. The chief’s counsellors not only derided him to the chief, but also asked that Roman Catholics be called in to counteract Ngoloma’s teaching. Revealing his lack of sympathy towards Roman Catholics and writing with some *schadenfreude* about the Roman Catholic priest’s arrival, Burton writes:

the natives, accustomed to crowd around their missionaries in affectionate welcome, thought that they could do the same with the priest. He, however, anxious to retain his dignity and cause a sense of respect among the natives, shouted, “Get away you heathen! You smell!”<sup>95</sup>

The fact that this man was a Roman Catholic cannot be perceived as the cause of this. Burton must have known CEM missionaries with similar attitudes in the colonial setting. One Australian CEM missionary, even in post-Independence days, put into print for the public his

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<sup>91</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 169.

<sup>92</sup> *CEMR* 3 (March 1924): 22. Burton writes here about Ngoloma’s son, ‘May he soon take his place beside his father as an evangelist to his own people’. Water baptism later became something only done in the presence of missionaries, this being because of the colonial government’s restrictions.

<sup>93</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 168.

<sup>94</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 169.

<sup>95</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 170.

antics. He recounts how he drew a large circle with a ‘big stick [...] threatening to clobber’ any who crossed the line and thus kept what he described as ‘snotty-nosed children’ away from him.<sup>96</sup> Ngoloma continued his very effective work in spite of hostility from Congolese jealous of his influence and also from Catholic antagonism. At the start of 1924 Burton was writing to Myerscough and mentioned at the end of his letter, ‘Another lad has just received the Holy Spirit at Lake Kisale’.<sup>97</sup>

In 1925 Hodgson and Womersley went to Kisale to set up a base. This was reported in *CEMR* as Hodgson and Womersley ‘opening up a fresh station at Kikondja’.<sup>98</sup> Although Burton had clearly valued Ngoloma in the past and had mentioned him in *CEMR*, no mention was made of Ngoloma here.<sup>99</sup> In the following issue of *CEMR*, Hodgson’s report of 12<sup>th</sup> June 1925 is printed, ‘The Opening of Kikondja Mission’. He gives his first memory of Kikondja as reading, before ever arriving in Congo, ‘one of Brother Burton’s reports’ where ‘he mentioned that God had spoken to them to separate Ngoloma, the carpenter boy, to carry the message of salvation to the people of Kisale’.<sup>100</sup> While, it cannot be said that Hodgson failed to mention Ngoloma, it can be said that he failed to state anything of what ‘the carpenter boy’ had achieved prior to his ‘opening of Kikondja mission’. There is just a passing acknowledgement from Cissie Hazelwood,<sup>101</sup> when reporting on her visit to see Hodgson and Womersley at ‘their new station’, that ‘the gospel has been preached in these villages since 1919’, but this time, no mention of Ngoloma is made or of what he had accomplished.<sup>102</sup> Before Hodgson and Womersley had ever arrived at Kikondja, Burton had written to Myerscough in 1924 giving his strategy for ‘reaching the villages of Lubaland’ through the opening of mission stations that would be ‘under adequate white supervision’.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ken Herschell, *Adventures with God in Outback Africa* (Langshaw, Queensland: Goldvale Products), 76.

<sup>97</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 23/01/1924. He does not mention Ngoloma here, but the point is that the Kisale area is still ‘producing’ good pentecostal stories for Burton to write home about.

<sup>98</sup> *CEMR* 8 (April-June 1925): 83. Emphasis mine.

<sup>99</sup> This was in a regular section of *CEMR* entitled ‘Notes from the Field’ reporting of missionary activity, so in some ways it might be said that it had to be expected.

<sup>100</sup> *CEMR* 9 (July-September 1925): 89.

<sup>101</sup> Cissie Hazelwood was a CEM missionary from 1922 until her death in 1931.

<sup>102</sup> *CEMR* 9 (July-September 1925): 92. Hodgson went on to become the name strongly linked with the Kisale region, for example pictures were published of him and his wife standing holding children with the caption, ‘Brother and Sister Hodgson with some of their vast Kisale family’, see: *CEMR* 41 (March-April 1933): 660.

<sup>103</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 13/10/1924.

Figure 13

Edmund Hodgson, c.1925<sup>104</sup>

Photo from Hawkins' archives



In his ministry Ngoloma now had to navigate not merely the jealousy from the chief's counsellors and the Roman Catholic antagonism, but he now also had a third tension, which Hodgson and Womersley, albeit unwittingly, brought with their arrival. This was not directly their fault, but because 'a number of bad-living white men' who had been trading before the war, had 'almost driven the natives to desperation by interfering with their wives and daughters'. All this meant that the Kisale population 'trusted no white man'.<sup>105</sup> Yet, Hodgson and Womersley, white men, had now arrived to play a leading role in the work established

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<sup>104</sup> I include this provocative picture to show the hero status the white missionary could claim in areas other than church planting. In this case the killing of a lion and straddling it with a young boy close to him. This is probably a similar case to the one reported in 1932 where a lion had been attacking Congolese people as reported in *CEMR* 39 (November-December 1932): 627-628.

<sup>105</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 171.

through the efforts of Ngoloma. In fact, as missionaries, part of their duties would include examining the gardens of the evangelists ‘to see that they are properly cared for’.<sup>106</sup>

The order of events and ground-breaking efforts of Ngoloma can be written in an ambiguous way, not just in CEM hagiography, but even in recent academic research. For example, Maxwell writes about the ‘traditional leaders’ persuading the chief to invite Catholic missionaries ‘as a counterbalance to Ngoloma’s influence’ and adds, ‘thus impeding the work of the first CEM missionaries in the area.’<sup>107</sup> In stating this, one has to ask whether Maxwell recognises that there were no missionaries in Kisale at the time the Catholics were invited or has he been taken along with missionary historiography.

#### **4.1.6 Ngoloma is Dropped**

The ‘dropping of Ngoloma’ in official CEM writing, once the white missionaries arrived, could be an indication of the relative value of missionaries over ‘native evangelists’. Burton does indeed write to Salter saying that Ngoloma is ‘a difficult customer’, but the same paragraph perhaps gives the fuller reason as to why Burton says this about his erstwhile ‘chief carpenter’:

Mr. Hodgson has a nice band of Kisale lads ready, and getting ready, to reach out into his farther villages. Already he is occupying Mwiumbwi, Yolo and other places that we have wanted to occupy. Ngoloma seems a somewhat difficult customer to handle. He is a bit independent. But I feel that God is giving Bro. Hodgson the needed tact and wisdom’.<sup>108</sup>

Hodgson and Womersley had arrived and the former is viewed by Burton as ‘having’ this group of ‘lads’ ready to ‘occupy’ places that ‘we’ have wanted to. The fact that Ngoloma had already advanced the gospel cause so much is no longer considered. He is viewed as ‘independent’. This must have meant he was not in total agreement with all the missionaries’ decisions. If there were local jealousy against Ngoloma and people were speaking negatively about him to the chief, there is no reason to suppose this could not have happened for the same reasons with regard to the missionaries. His alleged ‘independence’ could be seen as the reason why he was not mentioned much in *CEMR* after this point, and never with the same

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<sup>106</sup> Minutes of the Mwanza Conference, no.9, October 1925, This is recorded as having been ‘moved by Mr Burton’.

<sup>107</sup> Maxwell, ‘Freed,’ 91.

<sup>108</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 11/11/1925.

confidence as before. Wacker's point, that personal animosity or friendship heavily influenced the 'historical imagination' in early Pentecostalism, probably applies here in the same way it did with Boddy and Burton's name in *Confidence*.<sup>109</sup> Certainly Hodgson makes no mention of Ngoloma before a British audience in Exeter in 1958 when contributing to pentecostal historiography from a very personal point of view:

I've had the privilege of opening up three big territories for God alone. And I've opened them where there's not been a Christian, there's only been witchdoctors and practised cannibalism everywhere and secret societies. But in every one of the three territories I've seen it so changed until I've had the joy of establishing 163 churches. And the witchdoctors have become evangelists in most cases and [...] five secret societies that dominated even the chieftains (sic) have collapsed before the Gospel, by my own self-alone, just trying to live out Christ's life amongst them. So right from the beginning I've never known what fear is, but I've known that perfect love casts out fear.<sup>110</sup>

The erasure of Ngoloma from the historiography is manifest again when in 1970 David Womersley talks of 'Mr Hodgson's church at Kinkondja', not mentioning Ngoloma.<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.1.7 Residual Writing about Ngoloma

Burton records how in the following years the tensions with Catholics and attitudes towards white men were gradually unravelled. He then adds how the one remaining tension regarding jealousy towards Ngoloma was finally solved. He describes what he sees as the 'very wise decision of the elders of the church'; namely 'that Ngoloma, who seemed to have out-stayed his welcome at Kikondja, should be sent back to his own village, farther up the Congo River [...] thus it removed the only remaining cause of contention against the mission'. Burton believed Ngoloma 'had been longing for this'.<sup>112</sup> It is not possible to confirm this. What Burton means by 'the mission' is a moot point. Is it the non-racial propagation of the church or the establishment of white-led 'mission stations'?

Hodgson, writing about the above decision of the elders in 1927, two years after his setting up the station at Kikondja, refers to Ngoloma as 'our local teacher [...] a released slave from Angola' who 'came along and said that he now wished to go to his original home, take his family and open up a new work for God'. Hodgson, in contrast to Burton, makes no mention

<sup>109</sup> Wacker, 'Golden Oldies,' 89. This was examined in chapter two.

<sup>110</sup> Edmund Hodgson, 'Missionary Weekend,' audio recording, 1958, J.Emmett archives

<sup>111</sup> Reel to reel tape, 'The Growth of the CEM', David Womersley speaking for a commentary of magic lantern slides, digitised by Matthew Stephenson, 18/08/2015, about 9 minutes in.

<sup>112</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 173.

of any decision of church elders to send Ngoloma back to his own village; neither does he suggest that Ngoloma has ‘outstayed his welcome’. In fact Hodgson writes that when they first heard of the idea, ‘the local Christians protested strongly’.<sup>113</sup> It is not possible now to know precisely how the politics of Ngoloma being sent back to his own village were worked out. What is stated in the extant archival sources and oral tradition is that he was appreciated by Congolese Pentecostals in Kisale and played the founding role in the establishing of the pentecostal church there. It is equally observable that the appreciation of his role in the written mission records diminished with the arrival of white missionaries.

It has already been described above how Burton had designated Ngoloma in the photo caption of 1922 in *Missionary Pioneering*. Two years later in 1924, still before the arrival of missionaries at Kisale, Burton describes him as ‘our beloved fellow worker [...] a big man [...] who] tramps many weary miles to carry the gospel to his fellow-countrymen’ and requests that *CEMR* readers pray for his issue of swelling feet, even though Ngoloma himself has been ‘richly blessed’ by God in healing others.<sup>114</sup> In this respect, Ngoloma, before the arrival of Hodgson and Womersley, is presented to the *CEMR* readers as an effective evangelist and, just like the missionaries who get ill and tired, needing prayer for a physical ailment. He is most certainly a co-worker with Burton.

Contrastingly, three years later Ngoloma is pictured with his family in *CEMR* in 1927. This time he is not mentioned in the accompanying article which describes in detail, among other things, Hodgson’s *mêlée* with a crocodile.<sup>115</sup> The caption below the picture, for this man who turned down having thirty villages and being prominent in Congolese chieftainship, who clearly opened the way for the pentecostal message to arrive in a mosquito-infested area and established the first community of Pentecostals there, reads, ‘One of Mr. Hodgson’s evangelists, Ngoloma, with his wife and children’.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> *CEMR* 15 (January-March 1927): 195.

<sup>114</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 18. Ngoloma experienced times of no pain, but then the problem would recur.

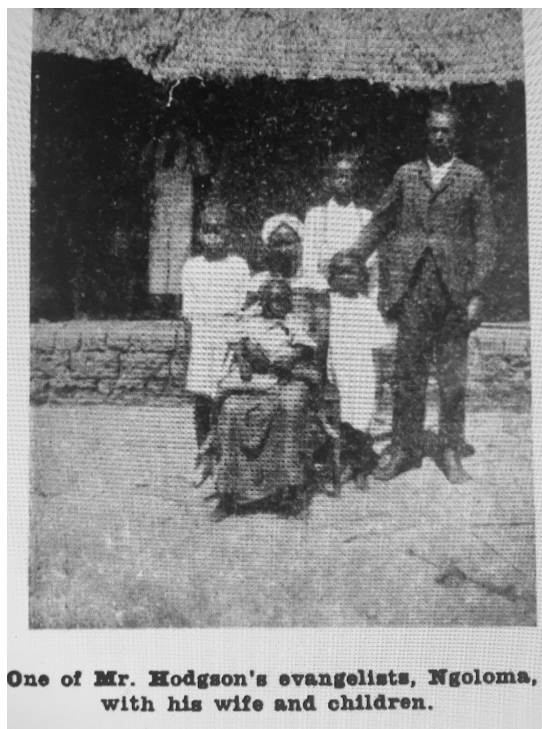
<sup>115</sup> It is worth noting that missionary encounters with crocodiles were not unique to CEM missionaries; for example see Baptist medical missionary Dr C.C.Chesterman’s account of shooting a crocodile that had been taking lives of Congolese on the Upper Congo River and at the subsequent crowded open-air service the next day, the names of 22 of the crocodile’s victims were read out; see: *Yakusu Quarterly Notes*, 1933, quoted by Nancy Rose Hunt in *A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth, Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham: Duke University press, 1999), 27-28.

<sup>116</sup> *CEMR* 18 (October-December 1927): 236. Emphasis mine.

Figure 14

One of Mr. Hodgson's Evangelists, Ngoloma with his wife and children, c.1927

Picture taken from *CEMR* with permission



After being named as one of Mr. Hodgson's evangelists, Ngoloma drops off the historiographical map apart from two brief references. Burton mentions Ngoloma in a 1938 letter to Hodgson, who is then on furlough. Burton recounts how an *agent sanitaire* had 'ordered Ngoloma to strip before the young folk of the village'. Ngoloma refused saying it was 'against his dignity as the village headman to do so'. The *agent sanitaire* had therefore reported Ngoloma to the colonial authorities, but Burton wrote to Hodgson that he was 'sending a note to Longfils, asking him to adjust the business as amicably as possible'.<sup>117</sup>

The final mention of Ngoloma's name in *CEMR* is in 1939. Hodgson had called in all his evangelists from the Kisale region. Two unnamed evangelists Hodgson refers to 'as the most important ones' had not turned up because of 'petty jealousies and idle tongue-wagging'. He sent an invitation for them to attend and they came. Hodgson taught the 52 evangelists present in three sessions of three hours each. After this Hodgson names three of his evangelists who publically asked for forgiveness from the others. One of these was Ngoloma.

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<sup>117</sup> Burton, letter to Hodgson, 21/06/1938. Longfils presumably being a Belgian official.



Hodgson describes the meeting from that point on as ‘all handshakes, confessions, tears of joy, forgiveness; every hatchet was buried and every soul set free. It was a mighty triumph of God’s word.’<sup>118</sup>

## **4.2 Considerations Based on the Ngoloma Story**

Maxwell’s comment that the *CEMR* ‘celebrated African participation as evidence of success in the founding of native churches’<sup>119</sup> is correct, but does not read between the lines and so needs nuancing. This chapter has done that with the chronicle of Ngoloma and shown that when examining more closely the role played by ‘native evangelists’, there is still indubitably an overemphasis on the part played by the white missionaries. *CEMR* consistently understates the role of Congolese agency and thus, albeit unwittingly, creates an almost fictitious pentecostal historical narrative.

### **4.2.1 Congolese Perspectives**

Colonisation disfigured Burton’s idealistic aspiration to see indigenous churches established. From the CEM’s perspective the reason for such mutilation was never nebulous. Burton knew that pentecostal Congolese churches could only be legally recognised by the Belgian colonials as long as they were ‘superintended by European missionaries’.<sup>120</sup> However, in reality the responsibility for the mangling of indigenisation was far more diffuse than a simple blaming of the Belgians.

The Ngoloma story is not well known even in Congolese oral tradition. Few Congolese Pentecostals know the name and even fewer the details of this frontier narrative. Yet, such untold stories manage to leave a residue in the psyche of Congolese Pentecostals. The story does not necessarily have to be told, but its detritus remains for years to come in Burton’s life and beyond.

The Congolese perception located some culpability within Burton himself, accusing him of collusion with the colonial powers. Monga recounts how Masokoyti and Beseka, as representatives of the Congolese leaders, led a delegation after Independence in 1960 to see Burton in Mwanza. Monga states they told Burton he was no different to those who had colonised them. Burton reacted with equanimity by going into the next room, filling a basin

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<sup>118</sup> *CEMR* 80 (September-October 1939): 454.

<sup>119</sup> David Maxwell, ‘Missionaries and Africans,’ 27.

<sup>120</sup> Appendix 5, 6.

with water and then going around washing the feet of these men. Monga states that was ‘the end of it’ and there was never any ‘more talk like that’. He avers that at that time Congolese Pentecostals viewed Burton as a living ‘monument’.<sup>121</sup>

Shame by association with colonial rule was something Burton had encountered at the start in Congo. Writing in 1945, Burton tells the story of ‘two wee sprites’ who followed him and Salter around everywhere they went when they first arrived at Mwanza in 1915. They would take hold of their hands, follow them into the forest when they wanted to pray, come and take any rats from their traps when they were building their house and eat them, raw, for breakfast. They even took on Burton and Salter's names, calling themselves, ‘Botini’ and ‘Sota’. They mocked the preaching they heard and Sota eventually became a thief who ended up spending long periods of time in prison. Burton writes that as ‘a result he took a bitter hatred to all white men, and seemed to think that all of us were responsible for his sufferings’.<sup>122</sup> While Burton recounts this story exultantly saying how thirty years later both men became Christians, there is nevertheless evidence Burton understands a false Congolese syllogism that saw colonial rule as white rule and that as all missionaries were white, all missionaries had to be associated with colonial rule.

Some three years after the foot-washing incident, there was a conference of Congolese leaders held at Katombe and the minutes from that conference demonstrate that the washing of Masokoyti's and Beseka's feet had not been the end of such sentiment, as suggested by Monga. Ngoloma being ‘a bit independent’ could have written minute three: ‘We agree to the return of the missionaries but whatever (sic) missionary who refuses to obey what we want must not come’.<sup>123</sup> The following conference in Kamina, which was chaired by Beseka and at which Butler was the recorder, also displayed the newfound forcefulness of the Congolese Pentecostals. Minute one states: ‘We elders agree to receive in our hands matters of finance (church, educational and medical) and whatever may come in the future from Europe designated to the church will be handed to us’.<sup>124</sup> The same minutes record that missionaries will be able to do a range of activities involving secondary school teaching and medical work

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<sup>121</sup> Monga, interview. Monga does not remember the reason why the delegation went to see Burton in the first place, apart from there was some sense of frustration towards him; he insists that the story is true and that everyone around Mwanza at the time knew about it.

<sup>122</sup> *CEMR* 114 (September-October 1945): 913.

<sup>123</sup> Minutes of the Katombe Conference, No.3, 20/07/1963.

<sup>124</sup> Minutes of the Kamina Conference, 16-19/08/1963.

and be advisors; the work of legal representative ‘will be headed by Jonathan Ilunga with Pierre Nzadi and Yosefa Maloba as deputies’ and Womersley and David Womersley as advisors.<sup>125</sup> The fact such statements are having to be made subsequent to Independence is all the more intriguing given Burton’s very early desire to see authentic and genuine leadership in the hands of the Congolese.

#### **4.2.2 The Present as a Fruit of the Past**

Patterns established in history can be determinative for many years; it can be tangentially noted that the issues over missionary influence continued to fester well after Burton’s death. For example, David Womersley writes how in 1979, sixteen years after his appointment as legal representative, Jonathan Ilunga had not wanted David Womersley to return to Congo as he had ‘accused me of challenging his authority’. This had been over the choice of a treasurer by the Congolese church leaders. David Womersley had spoken against the decision and writes that seeing as ‘the treasurer was to handle the money given by supporters in the UK’ it was thought that ‘having a voice’ in ‘the appointing of one of the two’ was ‘essential good governance’.<sup>126</sup> Burton put the same concept as, ‘The man who pays the piper has a right to call the tune’, calling it the ‘INDEFINITELY DEPENDANT’ method.<sup>127</sup>

Earlier it was stated how at the start of 1929 Burton had written to Salter, ‘Most of these hundreds of assemblies have their own elders or leaders who teach, exercise discipline, administer the money gifts of the saints, and take the lead generally’.<sup>128</sup> When Burton said this, did he envisage western missionaries fifty years later maintaining ‘a voice’ in the election of Congolese church treasurers, nineteen years after Independence, for the sake of ‘essential good governance’?<sup>129</sup> How then did things go awry? To what extent is it possible, with hindsight, to see the seeds of Burton’s frustration already latent in the frontier narratives of the 1920s?

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<sup>125</sup> Minutes of the Kamina Conference, 16-19/08/1963.

<sup>126</sup> David Womersley, *The House that God Built: 100 years of God’s Working in the Congo* (Preston; CAM International, 2015), 129.

<sup>127</sup> Burton, Appendix 5, 5. Emphasis his.

<sup>128</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929

<sup>129</sup> David Womersley, *The House*, 129.

### 4.2.3 Missionary Name-dropping

It is true that Hodgson and Knauf were killed because of their commitment to Burton's cause; Armstrong and others lost their lives in attempting to take the pentecostal message to Congo; but the names of the Congolese who either lost their lives or who sacrificed better standards of living for the sake of the pentecostal message are less well known or not known at all. Therein lies the western bias in Congolese pentecostal historiography.

Johnstone replicates the bias in the Ngoloma story when writing an article in 1940 entitled, 'Part of the Cost: "all these died in faith [...]"' . He writes,

if we are happy in the celebration of our twenty-fifth anniversary, and if we have become one of the biggest and most influential missions in the Congo, it has been done over the bodies of those who laid down their lives.<sup>130</sup>

He goes on to name eleven missionaries who have 'laid down their lives', writing a short paragraph about each one. (Interestingly, he starts with the PM missionaries Richardson, Ulyate and Armstrong, none of whom ever reached Mwanza.) He then adds one sentence at the end of this article, 'We can only write of the white missionaries, but how many scores of native evangelists have laid down their lives in the service of the King of Kings'.<sup>131</sup> Very few, probably none, of those in Britain reading his article would have ever met Richardson, Ulyate or Armstrong. Their names are mentioned because they were white missionaries while 'the scores of native evangelists' do not get mentioned. Such biased writing lends weight to the argument that reading between the lines is necessary to correct the 'fundamental misconception in the writing of pentecostal history'<sup>132</sup> that undervalues the role of local agency.

In order to parse one frontier narrative of the CEM, in this chapter I have had to peel back the layers of western missionary archives to allow the foregrounding of Ngoloma Ndela Bantu. Very little has been written about him in pentecostal history, even his full name has never been written down in any history until now. His inconspicuousness in historiography validates my calling this a case study. It has allowed a representation of many other unnamed or little-mentioned 'native evangelists' who were different to him, but like him pioneered in

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<sup>130</sup> *CEMR* 85 (November-December 1940): 320.

<sup>131</sup> *CEMR* 85 (November-December 1940): 321.

<sup>132</sup> Anderson, 'Revising Pentecostal History,' 147.

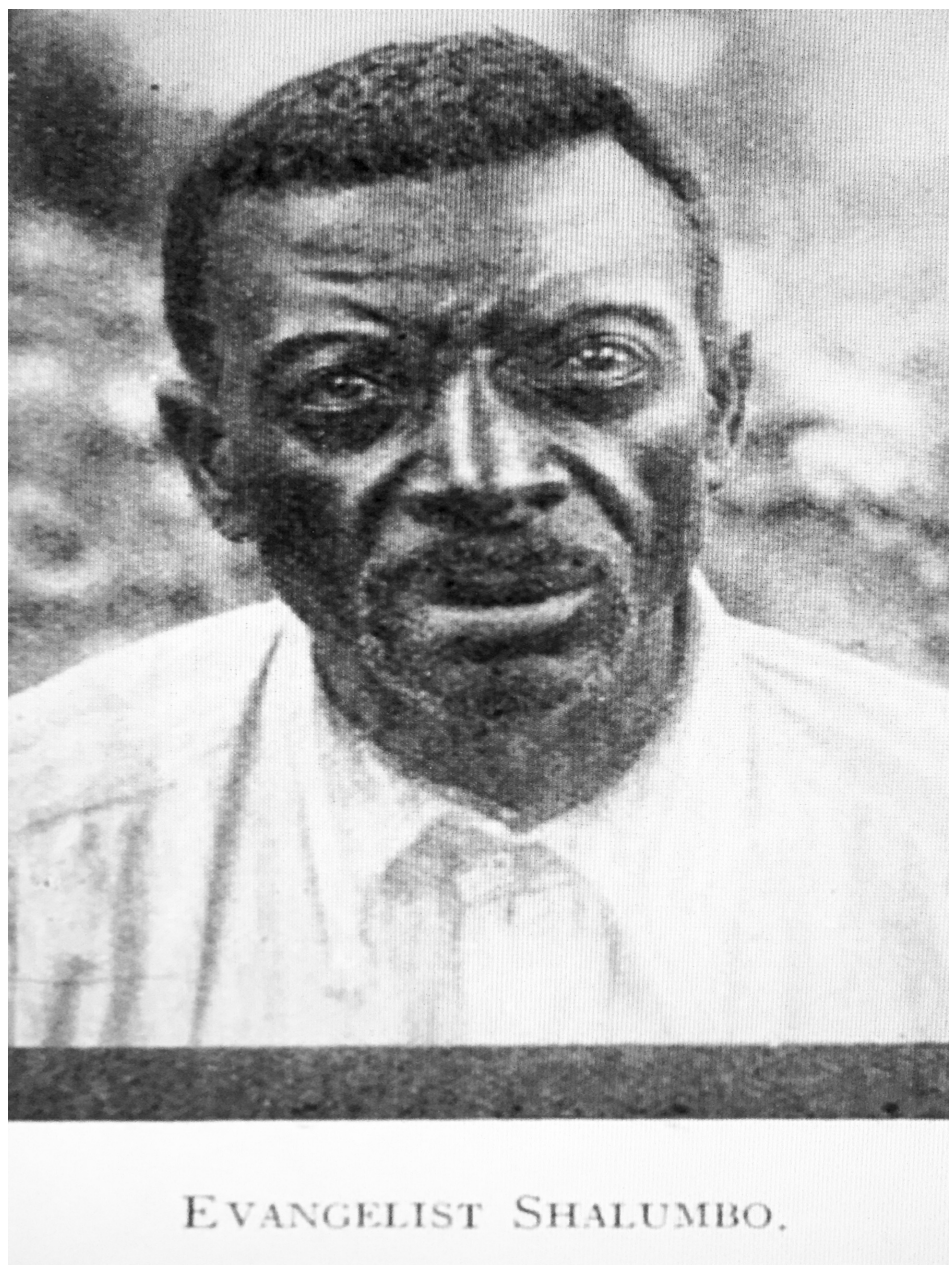
the hundreds of villages and towns in the Katanga and Kasai provinces. The way each one of them has been spoken about, written about (or not), has built up an incremental precipitate in the test tube of missionary aspirations for indigenisation. Ngoloma in this chapter has been presented as a case study in Burton's missional methodology and as a litmus test to the CEM's solution of implementing indigenisation in the formative 1920s. It has been seen that the CEM's cultural assimilation was not absolute and the litmus paper failed to change colour, this particular paper remaining far too white.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**EVANGELISING THROUGH SHALUMBO (1916-1937)**

Figure 15

Shalumbo, c.1922

Picture taken from Missionary Pioneering



**Introduction**

Chapters two and three focused on Burton's background and his early moves in establishing Congolese Pentecostalism. As with the previous chapter, this one accentuates the reality of an

indigenous leader involved in the mutual relationships of early Congolese Pentecostals and missionaries. Like everyone else, this Congolese leader had a history that shaped his character and formed his leadership potential. Like Ngoloma, the end of his life seemed to fade historiographically as the lives of missionaries surged. Like Burton, he had to discern prudently among both Belgian colonials and western missionaries whom to trust and of whom to be wary. Unlike Burton, he suffered slavery, saw colonials try to take sexual advantage of his daughter and some western missionaries not only undervalue him, but one even act violently towards his brother in his presence. Unlike Burton the outworking of his church leadership capacity was capped by a colonial system inexorably insistent upon white supervision of Congolese churches. By focusing on one local agent whom Burton appreciated over the twenty years he knew him, this chapter underscores both Burton's idealism and his frustration in seeking to devolve responsibility to local agency. With regard to his ideal of indigenisation this chapter also demonstrates how in the mine workings of Burton's idealism in the 1920s and 1930s, he ominously failed to detect that the canaries among his own missionaries had stopped singing. The subsequent chapter shows the consequences of this.

The task of conversions in the CEM was principally given to local agents. Shalumbo was among the foremost. His arrival at Mwanza in 1916, after being freed from slavery in Angola, is rightly described as a 'quantum leap for the new mission'.<sup>1</sup> After evangelising in the districts surrounding Mwanza,<sup>2</sup> he also pioneered among his own people, the Basongye, 'three weeks tramp' away from Mwanza.<sup>3</sup> Although receiving Burton's moral support, this was independently of either Burton or Burton's missionaries.<sup>4</sup> Shalumbo became a key Pentecostal in Congo in the ground-breaking 1920s in Katanga and Kasai and his endeavour motivated Burton to send CEM missionaries into the Basongye in Kasai, a region Burton had hitherto discounted as an area of operations. Missionaries sent by Burton to the Basongye failed to appreciate Shalumbo and conceivably contributed to the ambiguity that obfuscated

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in the Ngoimani valley, as will be discussed below.

<sup>3</sup> Burton, *God's Sent Ones*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting here that such unsupervised evangelism was not at all unique in the history of African Christianity. Missionaries often arrived in these areas to find Africans teaching Christianity. Evangelisation of whole areas had taken place prior to missionaries arriving. For example, Christian refugees fled the expanding Zulu Kingdom in the 1830s and carried Christianity into the Lake Malawi area; labour gangs in the Transvaal, South Africa in the 1840s-1860s were converted in their work place and then spread Christianity through labour migration. See: David Maxwell, 'Religion: Culture Contact' in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2001), 13056. Also in West Africa, 'right from the start' the spread of Christianity 'depended largely on Blacks'. See: Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 80-81.

his pentecostal credibility in the years leading up to his death in 1936. This section of the thesis explores and narrates the life of this harbinger of Congolese Pentecostalism, especially as seen and chronicled through the lens of Burton's writings. This facilitates a discerning of both Burton's own interest in Congolese history and his evaluation of Congolese agency where it took on a pioneering role in his mission. By 'plumbing the depths' of oral and written Basongye historiography Burton's writings are not so much corroborated as compared and contrasted and put into perspective.<sup>5</sup>

## 5.0 Shalumbo's Name

The names used for whom I am referring to as 'Shalumbo' need some explanation. Ngoie Marcel<sup>6</sup> provides a rare example of a Congolese contribution to the written history of Congolese Pentecostalism. Marcel starts his 1968 biography of Shalumbo, *Muwa wa Shalumbo* (Kisongye for 'The Life of Shalumbo') with the lines, 'SHALUMBO-KISOKA, (sic) ESHIBA DIA YAMEMA known as the pioneer, the foundation layer of the church of E.P.CO. [Eglise Pentecôtiste au Congo] (CEM) at Kipushya and among the Basongye.'<sup>7</sup> Burton explains how Shalumbo was known by three different names over the course of his life; Burton uses all three at the appropriate stages throughout *Man*. Burton gives the names as Eshiba, Kisoka and Shalumbo.<sup>8</sup> Congolese oral sources never refer to Shalumbo's childhood name as simply 'Eshiba' (a common name among the Basongye), but all give him his full name of 'Eshiba dia Yamema'.<sup>9</sup> When questioned about 'Shalumbo', they will often revert to calling him 'Eshiba dia Yamema'. Burton is right to state, 'The Central African

<sup>5</sup> Anderson, 'Revising Pentecostal,' 166.

<sup>6</sup> Ngoie Marcel was born in 1924 at Kipushya. He was a primary school teacher at Kipushya from 1944-1959. He was involved in local government from 1959-1964 and was the *Chef de Secteur* for the district of Lufubu-Lomami from 1961-1964. From 1965-1975 he was the legal representative for the Kasai pentecostal churches and from 1975 until his death in 2009 was their honorary legal representative. I met him on several occasions.

<sup>7</sup> Ngoie Alexandre Marcel, *Muwa Wa "Shalumbo"*. (*Eshiba Dia Yamema*) Kibangilo Kia E.P. Co (C.E.M.) *Mu Basongie* (Kinshasa: LECO, 1968), 1. Emphasis his. I have put sic here as Marcel is listing Shalumbo's three names (as will be explained below), not adding a second name to that of Shalumbo, cf. Anderson's attempt to pay respect to Shalumbo by referring to him as Shalumbo Kisoka in Anderson, *To the Ends*, 82. Edmund Rowlands misinterpreted Muwa for Maxwell. It is interesting to note that Rowlands' translation for Maxwell mistranslates this as 'SHALUMBO THE FIREBRAND, Eshiba dia Yamema the one known as the founder of the E.P.CO. (C.E.M.)' Rowlands misses out 'at Kipushya and among the Basongye', which is in the Kisongye, and misses the point that Kisoka was another used name and not a sobriquet or adjunct to the Shalumbo name. He was never referred to as 'Shalumbo the firebrand'.

<sup>8</sup> Burton, *Man*, viii.

<sup>9</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview with the author at Kabinda, 02/10/2011; Ngoy Kilumba, interview with the author at Kabinda, 03/10/2011; Ernest Nkongolo, interview with the author at Kabinda, 09/09/2013; Daniel Mikoso, interview with the author at Lubumbashi, 15/07/2014; Ilunga Kazembe, interview, and in many informal conversations. Although Marcel does at one point refer to him as Eshiba; see: Marcel, *Muwa*, 2, but unlike Burton he repeatedly refers to him as Eshiba dia Yamema before this.



makes much of names',<sup>10</sup> but Burton himself fails to honour this tradition in *Man*, referring to Shalumbo 22 times as 'Eshiba' and not once in the biography does he give him his full name, 'Eshiba dia Yamema' (even when Eshiba dia Yamema was his name synchronous in the relevant stage of the narrative). Burton's biography fails to inform the reader of Shalumbo's birth-name. Burton thus follows a general western, missionary tradition of only using one name when referring to indigenous people, as with Ngoloma.<sup>11</sup> Honour is not given when western missionaries do this.<sup>12</sup> Such practice also bewilders researchers attempting to discern 'who and what is responsible for the explosion of Charismatic Christianity' across the global south.<sup>13</sup>

The chronological order of these names is as follows: he was called Eshiba dia Yamema from birth to arriving in Angola. Kisoka was the second name used in the narrative, meaning firebrand (coincidentally the nickname Womersley gives to Burton);<sup>14</sup> this was during most of his Angolan years. Finally, Shalumbo is used only after the birth of his first son, Lumbo. Quite simply in Kisongye it means the father of Lumbo (*Sha* meaning 'father of'). The only written account of Shalumbo's life by a Congolese source is nevertheless entitled *Muwa wa Shalumbo* [The Life of Shalumbo]; therefore, from at least one Congolese perspective, it could be viewed as appropriate to refer to him by this moniker.<sup>15</sup> His son, Ngoy, also took on 'Shalumbo' as his father's name and is referred to in this chapter as Ngoy Shalumbo.

### 5.1. Shalumbo's Importance

Burton's appreciation of Shalumbo's partnership in his emergent mission is implicit when considering the preparation of his 1929 biography on Shalumbo, *When God Changes a Man*,

<sup>10</sup> Burton, *Man*, viii.

<sup>11</sup> Burton, *Man*, viii – 17. See: Anderson, 'Where have all the soldiers gone? Revising Pentecostal History in Global Perspective,' Paper presented at the International Conference on Asian Pentecostalism, 17-20 September 2001, University of Birmingham, cited by van der Laan, in 'Historical approaches,' 210.

<sup>12</sup> According to Karin Barber, this is true at least among one nearby people group; she observed that in *Mbiimbi*, (the dynastic poetry of the Yaka-speaking Lunda conquerors in the southeast of Congo), rather than refer to heroic ancestors by their names, the composer-performer of *mbiimbi* would give them "power names". See: Karin Barber, 'Text and Performance in Africa' *Oral Tradition* 20:2 (2005): 272. Although none of the Basongye I have spoken to are aware of such a practice, Shalumbo might be seen in a comparable way as a 'power name', especially given his status as a heroic founder of Pentecostalism in juxtaposition to western missionaries within the colonial context. Claude certainly reckons the use of a single name for him was because of his 'fame' linked to the pentecostal church in Kasai (but denies any formally identifiable Basongye practice of inventing power names as with the Yaka-speaking Lunda); Claude, email message to the author, 20/11/2013.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, 'Revising Pentecostal,' 151.

<sup>14</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 33.

<sup>15</sup> Mbesengye is said to have copious notes about Shalumbo's life, sadly Mbesengye died during the course of writing this thesis and it seems unlikely those notes will be recovered.

(*Man*).<sup>16</sup> Burton relentlessly prioritised this work, even when under pressure. In October 1928 he wrote to Salter emoting as he detailed the pressures he faced. He told Salter how he had travelled 1500 miles during the dry season, his wife was ‘worn out’ from working during his absences, he had lost ten inches from his waistline since Salter last saw him, and he had had to ‘smooth things out [...] from Johnstone and Thomas to Womersleys and Vales’. He also described how ‘an awful siege of sickness’ that was a ‘strange sort of dysentery’ had led to ‘our Christians’ bringing those who were sick and ‘dumping’ them, without saying “‘May I?’” or “‘If you please?’”. Further, his ‘cook boy’ had lost his father, stepmother, and sister in this wave of sickness and had been away mourning; Burton stated he was ‘worn out but still triumphing in Christ Jesus’.<sup>17</sup> He continued: ‘I have completed a large life of Shalumbo, including 30,000 pages (sic), and a number of remarkably fine photographs [...] This I may send off any day. The story of the mission will have to follow.’<sup>18</sup> Burton’s positioning Shalumbo above writing a history of the mission reflects Shalumbo’s importance to Burton. Burton had in fact already written a shorter booklet on the life of Shalumbo,<sup>19</sup> which was advertised in publications as early as January 1925,<sup>20</sup> yet he still insists on giving time to a fuller account before writing any mission history. In this same letter Burton wrote:

My own outstations are ruefully neglected and the evangelists complain that whenever I visit them I do not stay long enough to let people get a blessing. Our white workers complain of the shortness of my visits to them. Friends at home complain of the brevity of my letters. Supporters say they want to hear more of their men. Yet I only have one pair of hands and I CANNOT DO MORE THAN A DAY’S WORK EVERY TWENTY FOUR HOURS.<sup>21</sup>

Strained, Burton prioritised what would prove to be an unusual achievement for a missionary of his time, writing the biography of a local church leader. Burton realised that while it was imperative to give information to ‘supporters’ and ‘friends at home’, the role of the Congolese was crucial to the success of the advancing of the church in Congo.

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<sup>16</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *When God Changes a Man* (London: Victory Press, rev. ed. 1937).

<sup>17</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 22/10/1928. In his following letter to Salter, Burton divulged that he had written a very ‘downhearted letter’ and might have caused Salter ‘too to feel depressed’. See: Burton, letter to Salter, 31/10/1928.

<sup>18</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 22/10/1928. Emphasis mine. I assume he did not mean ‘30,000 pages’.

<sup>19</sup> Burton, *Man*, vii. There are no extant copies of that booklet and no mention of it is made in *CEMR*, yet Burton says here that it was much shorter than the book.

<sup>20</sup> *Good News* 16:1 (January 1<sup>st</sup> 1925): 21. This was an Australian periodical published in Melbourne and gives the price as three Australian shillings, accessed 18/11/2013 from, [http://ac.edu.au/webjournals/pdf/GN/gn-vol16-no1-january-1925/1925.01\\_web.pdf](http://ac.edu.au/webjournals/pdf/GN/gn-vol16-no1-january-1925/1925.01_web.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 22/10/1928. Emphasis his.

Burton's wilful resistance to othering Shalumbo meant Burton found himself needing to reassure the *CEMR* readership that a history of the mission would be forthcoming. After *Man's* publication, Burton disclosed to *CEMR* readers that there had been 'some criticism that we did not say more about the Congo Evangelistic Mission in this book'. He gave *Man's* objective: 'We can only say that the book was written more as a record of God's power to change a life of cruelty and sin to one of love and holiness, than as a chronicle of a mission's activities'.<sup>22</sup> Burton suspected CEM supporters would be more interested in reading about missionary 'activities' than a detailed account of Shalumbo's life, nevertheless Burton evinced as more zealous to show the transforming power of his gospel message in what he viewed as a Congolese case study. Shalumbo's life however, has to be viewed as uncharacteristic. As Maxwell observed, the freed slaves of that era had seen far more of the world than their 'stay-at-home fellows', and had a wider understanding in particular of the colonial world,<sup>23</sup> and one can add, also of the world of slavery. Yet, even among the freed slaves, Shalumbo was a fatidic sample of Burton's idealism *vis-à-vis* local agency. Burton's account reveals how he declaimed against those who would have held Shalumbo in abeyance. The 'freed slave to pentecostal pioneer' narrative also allowed Burton to pursue his much-loved ethnographical, geographical and sociological descriptions; from his pentecostal perspective it allowed and painted a verbal picture with a bright foreground set against the darkest of backgrounds.

### **5.1.1 Shalumbo in *Congo Evangelistic Mission Report***

If Burton appreciated Shalumbo, did other CEM missionaries appreciate Shalumbo? In the echo-chamber of *CEMR*, succinct appreciation was expressed by some missionaries who worked among the Basongye. That Shalumbo, unlike others such as Ngoloma, had become 'known to many' was acknowledged later by Womersley. Writing as the editor of *CEMR* in 1939, he announced a new series of articles about to start 'dealing with our native leaders'; he cites Shalumbo, and portrays him as a baroque example of local agency saying that his 'name was almost a household word in many pentecostal circles'. It is interesting to witness what Womersley goes on to consent to here before the *CEMR* readers:

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<sup>22</sup> *CEMR* 28 (April -June 1930): 429-430. Cf. Crawford's *Thinking Black*, where no aim for the writing of the book is given. A point made by Mark S. Sweetnam in 'Dan Crawford, Thinking Black, and the Challenge of a Missionary Canon' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58:04 (October 2007): 707.

<sup>23</sup> P.F. de Moraes Farias and Karin Barber, introduction in P.F. de Moraes and K. Barber eds., *Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa* (Birmingham: UOB, 1990) cited in Maxwell, 'Freed,' 102.

all know our missionaries so well [...] but our native workers are not so well known. Occasionally we have had articles about them – usually on their being called to higher service – and now and again one or another of our evangelists, such as Piele Masakochi [Masakoyti] has contributed something to these pages, or a native address has been reported. Yet [...] the vast body of our black preachers in Congo remains almost unknown'.<sup>24</sup>

This 1939 admission gives weight to the second half of Stanley's assertion that the missionary progress was 'overwhelmingly indigenous' in the areas where it expanded the most rapidly, but that there was negligible understanding of this in Europe.<sup>25</sup> There was a general pattern in missions' history for recent converts to soon outnumber foreign missionaries.<sup>26</sup> Womersley's statement also shows that Anderson is right to aver, within the specific context of the CEM, that 'we know the names of the missionaries, but those of the national leaders of the church are harder to come by'.<sup>27</sup> Although Burton is its subject, this thesis (this chapter and the previous one in particular) contributes knowledge that redresses the balance by affirming the crucial engagement of local agency. Others too have described the actions of early converts as 'indigenous preachers' and their pivotal role in settings other than Congo.<sup>28</sup>

Burton's atypical obduracy in writing so extensively on Shalumbo should be seen as the principal cause of Womersley's observation that Shalumbo's name was common 'in many pentecostal circles'. Although *CEMR* was issued regularly, *Man* unambiguously has to be seen as the basis for this. References to Shalumbo appear in *CEMR* prior to the publication of the book, they are however, few and very far between: over the first 67 editions of *CEMR* Shalumbo's name is mentioned 24 times in seventeen articles or news reports in *CEMR*<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *CEMR* 80 (September-October 1939): 463.

<sup>25</sup> Brian Stanley, 'Twentieth Century Christianity: A Perspective from the History of Missions' in Donald Lewis ed., *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), cited in Anderson, *Spreading*, 7. Stanley was actually writing about the beginning of the twentieth century here, but what he writes applies to the CEM supporters in the late 1930s.

<sup>26</sup> Peggy Brock, 'New Christians as Evangelists' in Norman Etherington ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 132.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *Introduction*, 217.

<sup>28</sup> Louise M. Pirouet in *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914* (London: Collins, 1978) cited by Brock in 'New Christians as Evangelists,' 133. The point is made here that most of the information concerning new Christian evangelists 'comes through the filter of mission reports' enabling the reader 'to know what they did, but remain removed from their lived experiences'.

<sup>29</sup> *CEMR* 1 (July-August 1923): 4 (one mention); 7 (January-March 1925): 62 (one mention); 15 (January-March 1927): 186 (one mention alongside two mentions of his wife); 17 (July-September 1927): 218 (one mention); 18 (October-December 1927): 233 (one mention); 20 (April-June 1928): 267 (two mentions); 21 (July-September 1928): 295 (one mention); 24 (April-June 1929): 350 (one mention); 28 (April-June 1930): 418 (one

before his death is reported in the 68<sup>th</sup> *CEMR* in 1937.<sup>30</sup> These references, often fleeting, could be viewed as affectionate, but equally as paternalistic. Amy Entwistle refers to him as ‘poor old Shalumbo’;<sup>31</sup> Cyril Taylor calls him, ‘the faithful native evangelist’;<sup>32</sup> Burton himself uses the ‘Old Shalumbo’ appellation, but does add that Shalumbo is ‘regarded as the leader in the Christian village’.<sup>33</sup> Arthur Blythe comes closer to Marcel’s appreciation of Shalumbo by describing him as ‘the father of the work’.<sup>34</sup>

Despite the paucity of references to Shalumbo in *CEMR*, Bertha Gallup in 1932, three years after the publication of *Man*, is able to write in *CEMR*, ‘One Sunday, before [the] church service, Old Shalumbo, of whom most of you have heard [...]’.<sup>35</sup> It is clear, Shalumbo’s notoriety outside Congo came from *Man* rather than through *CEMR*. Burton alone is chiefly responsible for any foregrounding of Shalumbo by the 1930s. Below is substantial writing about Shalumbo for the first time since 1929.

## 5.2 Pre-Angola

### 5.2.1 Birth

Writing in *Man* Burton does not refer to Shalumbo’s ancestry, or give the dates of his birth. A great nephew, Nkongolo Ebondo,<sup>36</sup> writes Shalumbo may have been born as early as 1850.<sup>37</sup>

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mention) and 429 (announcing the publication of *When God Changes a Man*): 34 (October-December 1931): 524 (three mentions; report of Shalumbo’s visit to Ngoimani); 35 (January-March 1932): 543-544 (three mentions); 38 (September-October 1932): 603 (one mention); 44 (September-October 1933): 724 (one mention); 48 (May-June 1934): 795 (three mentions); 61 (July-August 1936): 70 (one mention); 64 (January-February 1937): 131 (one mention).

<sup>30</sup> *CEMR* 68 (September- October 1937): 211-213.

<sup>31</sup> *CEMR* 18 (October-December 1927): 233. Emphasis mine. Amy Entwistle was a CEM missionary from 1926 to 1958.

<sup>32</sup> *CEMR* 20 (April-June 1928): 267. Cyril Taylor was a CEM missionary from 1920 to until his death in 1935.

<sup>33</sup> *CEMR* 21 (July-September 1928): 295.

<sup>34</sup> *CEMR* 88 (May-June 1941): 624. Arthur Blythe was a CEM missionary from 1935 to 1946.

<sup>35</sup> *CEMR* 35 (January-March 1932): 543. Emphasis mine. (She continues to tell the story of how Shalumbo had brought the names of six of the wives of the chief of his village who ‘professed Christ as their Saviour’, and then continues, ‘Shalumbo has spent much time in prayer for those in this village and is rejoicing that souls are being saved’. Further, she adds a story saying how Shalumbo had brought a man who wanted to sell his wooden idols to her as he ‘had accepted Christ and had no more use for his idols and wanted to get rid of them’). She concludes, ‘This old Warrior of the Cross is doing a real work in our midst. He is ever looking for someone to win for Christ’. Bertha Gallup was a CEM missionary from 1929 to 1943.

<sup>36</sup> Nkongolo Ebondo was a pupil of mine in the 1980s. His great grandfather was Nkasa a Mema, a younger brother of Shalumbo. Ebondo teaches history and supervises students’ dissertations in history at Congolese universities. He describes himself as a Basongye historian. He has been in regular contact with Shalumbo’s relatives, his own family, over the years and formally interviewed and informally conversed with them on his interest in pentecostal history.

<sup>37</sup> Nkongolo Ebondo, ‘Implantation et Expansion de la Communauté Pentecôtiste du Zaïre au Kasai-Oriental: Cas de la 30ème C.P.Z. Mission de Kipushya de 1920 à 1988’ (Masters diss. University of Mbuji-Mayi, 1988), 6.

Shalumbo was the seventh child from a family of eleven children.<sup>38</sup> His father, Tshite Ya Mema,<sup>39</sup> originally from Mpembwe, lived in Epamba (a village on the banks of the river Lomami).<sup>40</sup> His mother Ngoie (no other name can be found) was originally from Bantamba, a small village near to Kipushya.<sup>41</sup> This small village would turn out to be the place where Shalumbo spent his final years.

Shalumbo was born away from Epamba in Kitole,<sup>42</sup> but was named by his father after his father's own action of giving water to the passengers waiting to cross the river.<sup>43</sup> All the passengers crossing the Lomami on *pirogues* would call in and get water (Kisongye: *mema*) from (Kisongye: *dia*) the lake (Kisongye: *Eshiba*). There is a beautiful lagoon at Mpanda with very clear, still water.<sup>44</sup>

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This work is useful as it draws from several oral sources no longer alive. I give the date here as recorded by Ebondo, as it is the only written source I have seen giving his date of birth, but the earlier point made over dates requires that it be treated with more than a modicum of suspicion. This is further seen when considering some oral sources: Mikoso gives 1857, but gives it as an approximate date, and Mbesengye even gives 1867 as an approximate date.

<sup>38</sup> Daniel Mikoso, interview with Claude in Lubumbashi on 01/12/2013. Daniel Mikoso is an elderly Musongye now living in Lubumbashi. He was identified by Claude as being someone who had spent time talking with Shalumbo and who had a keen interest in Basongye history. Both Claude and I interviewed him. Mikoso was from Bantamba and went to school with Marcel, Shalumbo's Musongye biographer; he must have taken an interest in history as he is the only Musongye alive from his generation that I am aware of who kept a form of diary recording what he witnessed. His notes are still with him in his home in Lubumbashi; Claude refers to him as a 'living library'; (Claude refuses to ask Mikoso for his date of birth or age, saying that culturally it would be viewed as disrespectful when speaking to such an elderly person). Mikoso was very critical of Marcel's *Muwa Wa Shalumbo* when he first read it and wrote at length to Marcel pointing out his errors. Mikoso will not share his written notes, but I have seen them in Lubumbashi.

<sup>39</sup> *Tshite*, was in fact a title of nobility in the Songye dynasty. It was seen as having a secondary place following the position of the *Ya Ndjibu*, the title given to the one who was the principal chief. Hence, his father's name was more simply Ya Mema. Ngoy Mbesengye, interview with Claude in Kalemie, 09/07/2013. He adds that Nkasa Ya Mema, Shalumbo's eldest brother, succeeded his father and was then referred to as Tshite Nkasa. Ngoy Mbesengye from Mpembwe, was living in Kalemie in Katanga, until his death in 2015. The late Ngoy Mbesengye as a child was among the group who went down to get Shalumbo from Mwanza.

<sup>40</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview with the author, 02/10/2011. Ngoy Shalumbo is the son of Shalumbo. He was the station pastor at Kipushya when I was there from 1981-1991. Epamba and Mpanda are essentially the same village, with one on the left bank of the Lomami and one on the right. The two names are used interchangeably, especially by those who are not from Epamba or Mpanda.

<sup>41</sup> Mbesengye, interview. When living at Kipushya, I could see Bantamba, which was down in the valley from Kipushya, which was at the head of the valley. The people of Kipushya literally and symbolically looked down on Bantamba.

<sup>42</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011; Burton, *Man*, 1; this would be several hours away on foot from Mpanda.

<sup>43</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

<sup>44</sup> I know this well and swam there a few times in the 1980s.

Ebondo and Marcel both state that Shalumbo was born at Kipushya,<sup>45</sup> but this need not necessarily contradict Burton. In Ngoy Shalumbo's and Mbesengye's location of Kitole, Kitole would come under a group of villages that would be seen as basically being 'Kipushya' when explaining its location to someone from further afield. Ngoy Shalumbo explains how Kipushya became the better-known village that everyone knew, whereas Kitole would be a smaller and less well-known village.<sup>46</sup>

Marcel finds significance in the insignificance of Kitole in the opening lines of his biography: 'Fulfilling the word from the book of God [my literal translation]: 'And you, O Bethlehem in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for from you shall come a ruler who will shepherd my people Israel. Matthew 2:6'.<sup>47</sup> This introduction to Shalumbo's life by depicting his birth along messianic lines as the ruler born into a poor unknown village sets the tone for Marcel's hagiography. Burton sees Shalumbo's birth in the small village of Kitole as subliminally implying there were aspirations for him to go far beyond the small village where he was born, to 'look across the great rolling plains of the Songi country, where herds of buffalo and roan antelope fed [...] He longed for the day when he would be big enough to go out with the men to hunt the larger animals'.<sup>48</sup>

Burton takes a more aggressive tone than Marcel. He emphasises 'life as it is here' in a way that he had just a few years earlier described to Myerscough as 'sordid and as black as hell'.<sup>49</sup> He describes the 'witch-doctor' who had been 'called to give the baby a lucky name' and who 'christened it "Eshiba," a lake - receiving a gift of a fowl for his good offices'.<sup>50</sup> (The fact that Burton uses 'witch-doctor' as the subject and 'christens' as the accompanying verb, and has him paid for his 'good offices' is probably no coincidence given his earlier jeremiads against Anglicanism).

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<sup>45</sup> Ebondo, 'Implantation,' 6; Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

<sup>46</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011. Kipushya became the place missionaries settled and remained until 1994 and the administrative centre for the whole of the CPCO in the Kasai provinces after 1960. A mobile phone network only opened up there in 2015 (2004 in Kabinda, ninety miles away by road). A relative of Shalumbo opened an Internet café in 2015.

<sup>47</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Burton, *Man*, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 01/06/1925.

<sup>50</sup> Burton, *Man*, 1.

### 5.2.2 Formative Years

Burton, unlike Marcel or Ebondo, continues to portray Shalumbo's formative years living in Kitole. Burton depicts the historic distrust between the Basongye and the Baluba. He writes of the 'old chief Ngoi Kiovwe [Ngoy Kiofwe] bringing out his idols' and consulting them to find out whether or not it was 'a good time to go on a raiding expedition, to steal the wives and children of the Baluba across the Lomami River'. While threatening those to the south, Burton also describes the menace from the north. Shalumbo would hear drums warning the local population that the 'desperate Batetela cannibals were advancing' and the youths and men would go 'with their heavy spears, and bows with poisoned arrows, coming back with their wounded and slain, or perhaps with a string of captives roped neck to neck'.<sup>51</sup> Burton clarifies how those taken from the Batetela were then kept as slaves to deter further raids. Shalumbo as a child had joined in the 'teasing and torturing' of the Batetela who were 'roped in the centre of the village, for the sport of the populace, very much in the same way we read of the Philistines making sport of blind Samson'.<sup>52</sup>

Shalumbo along with all the members of his family were said to be practising fetishism at this time.<sup>53</sup> Burton describes how Shalumbo went through the *bukishi*<sup>54</sup> initiation process; this involved being put into the care of a 'sorcerer' and living in seclusion for 'some months, undergoing very painful ordeals and mysterious ceremonies'.<sup>55</sup> Burton's relationship with Shalumbo must have involved much discussion to obtain such detail. Burton's thorough writing contributes to a recording of history about which very little is written; he makes a rare contribution to the written pre-Angolan slave trade history of the Basongye people. In

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<sup>51</sup> Burton, *Man*, 2-3. It should be noted that nowadays some of the Batetela are now included among the Basongye as the term 'Basongye' tends to include all Songye speakers; in Shalumbo's life they were seen as the more distinct grouping of people found between Lusambo and the Upper Congo River and speaking their own language; see: Thomas Turner, "'Batetela", "Baluba", "Basongye": Ethnogenesis in Zaire', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 33:4 (1993): 587. Turner cites the report made by Commandant Borms who visited the region between the Lualaba (Upper Zaïre) and Lomami Rivers in 1900-1901: "Quoique les populations de la rive gauche du Lualaba semblent appartenir a une même race, la race Songe, il faut cependant faire une différence (sic) entre le Basonge proprement dit et le Batetela, qui ont chacun leur langue propre absolument distincte". The Batetela had revolted against the Congo Free State, threatening its survival. Patrice Lumumba (the first elected Prime Minister of Congo after Independence) was born into this people group in 1925 around 200 miles directly north of Kipushya.

<sup>52</sup> Burton, *Man*, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Mbesengye, interview. While Kwame Bediako would see terms like 'fetishism' as a 'Western intellectual category' and one those constructing 'African theology' would reject, all the Congolese I have interviewed or spoken with use it freely. See: Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa; The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience* (Oxford: Regnum, 2000), 52.

<sup>54</sup> A more modern secret society that originated from Kabinda and eventually spread across to Katanga; it involved 'being possessed' by a European whose name was taken; see: Burton, *Luba Religion*, 174-176.

<sup>55</sup> Burton, *Man*, 7.



addition, as Maxwell has already noted, in the historiography of freed slaves, much more is written about those in West Africa than those on the Congo-Angola frontier.<sup>56</sup>

Burton, unlike Marcel goes into some detail of the Batetela under the leadership of Ngongo (sometimes called 'Gombe') Lutete 1856-1893.<sup>57</sup> Lutete had sided with the Arabs against the Bekalebwe wanting to conquer a considerable part of the Kasai region on the left bank of the Lomami.<sup>58</sup> The Bekalebwe are just one of four groupings among the Basongye people; the others being the Belande, Ben'Eki and the Bena Kyofwe. The Arabs did not physically come anywhere near Kitole themselves, but armed the Batetela invaders who replaced Ngoie Kiofwe with Mabwija<sup>59</sup> as the new chief of the Bekalebwe.<sup>60</sup> All the original four Bekalebwe chiefs at this time fled to a village called Kisenga.<sup>61</sup> With Arab backing, the military superiority of the Batetela was what Burton describes as 'a veritable reign of terror'. Burton describes how 'little children were impaled on spikes along paths' and how 'the elders of the village' were 'split open and left as an example to any who might be inclined to offer any resistance to the invading hordes'. He adds that 'every night was made hideous by ghoulish dances and feasts of human flesh'. According to Burton, Shalumbo's mother, Ngoie, was taken to 'Bwana Kalonda' the Arab leader and after refusing to 'submit to him' was put to death.<sup>62</sup>

Mbesengye doubts Shalumbo's mother was killed. He reckons that the Arabs were far more likely to have sold her on as a slave in Msiri's kingdom, as they were far more interested in making money than eating people.<sup>63</sup> Significantly however, the price of slaves was said to be

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<sup>56</sup> Maxwell, 'Freed,' 80. J. Vansina's *Being Colonised*, is an exception to this, noted by Maxwell, Jan Vansina, *Being Colonized: The Kuba Experience in Rural Congo, 1880-1960* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

<sup>57</sup> Burton, *Man*, 8-11. For more detail on this see: A.P. Merriam, *An African World the Basongye Village of Lupupa Ngye* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), 13-15.

<sup>58</sup> Johannes Fabian, *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 33.

<sup>59</sup> Alternative spelling is Mabwisha.

<sup>60</sup> Burton, *Man*, 8-9. The present-day chiefs are once again from the Ngoy Kiofwe line according to Mbesengye, Mbesengye, email via Claude Kapenga, 19/11/2013.

<sup>61</sup> Mbesengye, interview. Mbesengye names the chiefs who were all replaced as Kikumbi from the village of Kikumbi, Mulenda from Ebombo, Ebondo from Mpuko and Ngoy Kiofwe who was replaced by Mabwija.

<sup>62</sup> Burton, *Man*, 10. He also describes here how all the young men in Kitole had their heads shaved by Fwamba, the leader of the Batetela. For an account of the Batetela at Kinkondja, see: Edmund Hodgson, *Fishing*, 21-24; for details of atrocities committed by the Batetela in Katanga, see: Harold Womersley, *Legends and History of the Luba* (Los Angeles: Crossroads Press, University of California, 1984), 56-59.

<sup>63</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

on a downward spiral about this time as ivory prices were rising;<sup>64</sup> so circumstantial evidence lends support to Burton's credibility as a historian. According to Burton, because of the Arab dominance through the Congolese puppet regime led by Mabwija, 'many of the fathers and mothers of Kitole' became 'traitors' who 'betrayed their own children' with the result that 'bleaching bones lay in the long grass'.<sup>65</sup> Mbesengye states that no one dared to oppose Lutete and he became a great friend of the paramount chief Lumpungu from Kabinda, and together they ate human flesh.<sup>66</sup> Mbesengye thus lends support to Burton's violent tone in his historical writing about the sadistic times of Shalumbo's formative years,<sup>67</sup> as too does Crawford, albeit from a more Southern and Luban-based perspective.<sup>68</sup>

It was common sense and not unusual to exercise caution in those times and to be willing to defend oneself, especially when moving 'beyond the village'. Shambelo (a son of the chief of Kabenga) writes how consequently the Bekalebwe 'always carried arms with which to defend ourselves'; nevertheless, Shambelo was still 'seized and carried off' to Bié in Angola.<sup>69</sup> Shalumbo wanted to do more than defend himself. After the loss of his mother, Shalumbo developed a feeling of wanting revenge and purchased a locally made rifle with the aim of using it both to kill Arabs and also for protecting his family.<sup>70</sup> The coincidence of longer-term Arab-sponsored forays from the north with the new surge from the south (Angola) of the Biéans could have only deepened the insecurity in the Basongye population including Shalumbo. Burton does not accentuate Shalumbo's desire for revenge and bitterness, but simply says Shalumbo was confused and felt that he needed 'someone to whom he could look up'. Burton writes that Shalumbo took an 'immediate liking' to an 'attractive and daring' Biéan slave trader named Kiolema, and he 'determined to throw his lot with him'.<sup>71</sup> Mbesengye believes Kiolema was the name given by the Bekalebwe to an Angolan named

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<sup>64</sup> Vansina, *Being Colonized*, 24.

<sup>65</sup> Burton, *Man*, 11.

<sup>66</sup> Mbesengye, interview. (Lumpungu's son was Kamanda Lumpungu who was hanged by the Belgians. Kamanda's son was Chief Mutamba who only recently died at Kabinda). Ngongo Lutete was never chased away from the Bekalebwe according to Mbesengye, but returned to his home village of his own free will, and it was only after this that all the Bekalebwe chiefs returned to their villages, and so power 'returned from the house of Mabwija to the house of Ngoy Kiofwe, where it has remained to the present day'.

<sup>67</sup> Mbesengye also adds that Ngongo Lutete committed many 'extreme atrocities' including cutting people's ears off and cutting open a pregnant woman just so that he could see how a human foetus lay in the womb of a mother.

<sup>68</sup> Crawford, *Thinking Black*, 330-341.

<sup>69</sup> *CEMR* 3 (January-March 1924): 23.

<sup>70</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>71</sup> Burton, *Man*, 12.

Coremas who had come to sell gunpowder.<sup>72</sup> Burton describes Kiolema as ‘generous’ as he sold a gun for five slaves, whereas the Arabs asked for twenty.<sup>73</sup> This mirrors Vansina’s point that with an increased number of slaves flooding the market, the value of slaves was decreasing towards Angola,<sup>74</sup> those north of Kitole might not have yet been impacted by that, hence the discrepancy in value.

### 5.2.3 Shalumbo the Slave-raider Goes to Angola

The slaves taken by Biéans from Kasai and Katanga villages were ‘shackled’ and led via Bunkeya in Katanga, to the coast of Portuguese West Africa.<sup>75</sup> Maxwell writes about this movement of people being ‘marched’ from Luba, Songye and Bunda territories to Bié in Angola by Ovimbundu slavers between 1870 and the early 1900s.<sup>76</sup> Marcel describes it in more racial terms saying how ‘white Portuguese came with their black Angolans (Bimundu) [...] bringing gunpowder to our chiefs and elders and trading it for slaves’.<sup>77</sup> Marcel adds that at that time the Portuguese had a monopoly on the supply of gunpowder.<sup>78</sup> As often the case in war, the outcome of local rivalries among different chieftainships was determined by technological military superiority; those without rifles and only having bows and arrows lost. Shalumbo, with a sense of bitterness over the loss of his mother and desirous of protecting family, left his home village of Kitole to go for gunpowder.<sup>79</sup> In the early colonial setting, this could be seen as a part of Shalumbo’s acceptance of the outsider’s ‘superior magic-like technology that included their lethal weaponry’.<sup>80</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo simply states that Shalumbo took slaves to exchange for guns and gunpowder.<sup>81</sup> Marcel writes how Shalumbo

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<sup>72</sup> Mbesengye, interview. Kiolema is simply the Kisongye way of pronouncing Coremas, there is no ‘r’ in Kisongye. Burton nowhere acknowledges the Basongye way of spelling Coremas’ name. There is a municipality in Brazil named Coremas, which is a tenuous link to the name; Brazil, Portugal and Kongo-Angola have long historical links in the slave trade; see: Linda Heywood, ‘The Angolan-Afro-Brazilian cultural connections’ in *Slavery and Abolition* 20:1 (1999): 9-23.

<sup>73</sup> Burton, *Man*, 12.

<sup>74</sup> Vansina, *Being Colonized*, 24. He gives an example of this rapid devaluation: ‘Whereas in 1886 a slightly middle-size damaged tusk was bought for 2 young girls, 5 copper crosses, 5,000 cowries, and 200 packets of amandrilha beads, a year later a 4-pound tusk cost 1 slave, a 10-pound tusk cost 2 slaves, a 20-pound tusk cost 6 slaves, a 30-pound tusk cost 10 slaves, a 50 to 60-pound tusk cost 20 slaves, and a large 92-pound tusk was sold for 54 slaves’.

<sup>75</sup> Burton, *Man*, 11.

<sup>76</sup> Maxwell, ‘Freed’, 80.

<sup>77</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 1-2. The Bimundu were the people group around the highlands of Bié in Angola, sometimes referred to as the Ovimbundu.

<sup>78</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

<sup>80</sup> Vansina, *Being Colonized*, 35.

<sup>81</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

took ‘others with him from Kipushya, (people from Kitole)’.<sup>82</sup> Marcel highlights that the partnership between Kiolema and Shalumbo started around 1892,<sup>83</sup> with neither of them having any ‘previous experience in slave-raiding’.<sup>84</sup> Shalumbo would have been around 42 years old, if the 1850 birth date were correct.

Mbesengye supposes it was not long before this that Shalumbo had taken Kaseba, who had come from the Lande area,<sup>85</sup> as his first wife. They had no children as he left on the journey shortly after taking her as a wife and the marriage ended. He adds that no one is sure what became of her after Shalumbo set off on this journey, or who took her as a wife. Few Basongye today are aware of her existence in the Shalumbo narrative.<sup>86</sup> Burton makes no mention of her.

Marcel is, predictably, given the hagiographical tone of his book, silent on Shalumbo’s complicity in the slave trade.<sup>87</sup> Mikoso even reckons that a myth was circulated by some ‘old men’ around Kipushya, in comparatively more recent times, saying Shalumbo set off for Angola to find missionaries.<sup>88</sup> Burton however, seems to relish giving more detail. He is vivid in his portrayal of the cruelty of the times, but this time implicating Shalumbo as a participant in the cruelty of the slave trade, describing him as ‘serving an apprenticeship at this time, in every form of cruelty’.<sup>89</sup> This included torturing to death any who attempted to escape, cutting the sinews of the legs of those who became too weak carry their loads and throwing any new born babies into the forest ‘for the leopards and hyenas to eat’.<sup>90</sup> Burton is not alone in describing these sorts of atrocities. Shambelo, the son of the chief mentioned above, describes how when he was seized he was ‘fastened with wooden slave-yokes, and given heavy loads of ivory, oil and rubber’. Shambelo adds:

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<sup>82</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 2. Marcel actually lists the names of three of those who returned to Kipushya, and says many others also returned who were not listed, and then adds, that Shalumbo ‘kept going until they reached the land of Angola’.

<sup>83</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 2. This is the date given by Marcel and also by Mbesengye. The latter gives the route taken as Kipushya-Kabongo-Kamina-Bukama-Lubudi-Bunkeya and then crossing between Kolwezi and Dilolo to enter Angola in the province known as North Lunda.

<sup>84</sup> Burton, *Man*, 12

<sup>85</sup> An area to the southwest of Kipushya.

<sup>86</sup> Mbesengye, interview. The only other people who knew of her existence that I could find was Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, and Mikoso, interview with author. Being able to cross reference sources in three different locations, Kalemie, Kabinda and Lubumbashi has proved there is a canon in Basongye oral tradition.

<sup>87</sup> Maxwell, ‘Freed,’ 82. Maxwell makes this point.

<sup>88</sup> Mikoso, interview with author.

<sup>89</sup> Burton, *Man*, 12.

<sup>90</sup> Burton, *Man*, 13.

We were not accustomed to such heavy loads but they thrashed us, and if a man could not carry his load, he was cut across the tendons of his feet to cripple him and prevent him from returning home [...] our burdens became heavier and heavier, for those who lived had to carry the loads of those who died, and we did not dare to think of our weakness lest we too should eventually drop, and meet the same fate as our friends.<sup>91</sup>

One writer describes the awfulness of the conditions for slaves being taken to the North by the Arabs. Women would not ‘be respected’ and as well as describing the killing of those who attempted escape from the slave chains, adds that ‘when the chain of unfortunates arrives at its destination, the number of slaves has diminished by three quarters’.<sup>92</sup> With regard to the ‘new’ Southern trail to Bié, Burton trumps this statistic, reckoning four fifths died from ‘exposure, brutality, or simply of a broken heart’ before ever reaching Angola.<sup>93</sup> Even for those who made it to Angola, life was still open to abuse and cruelty, and left psychological scars. Some, as will now be seen, would always remember Shalumbo, not other authority figures, as the principal instigator of their misery.

Maxwell writes of the trauma of slavery producing ‘what missionaries described as a “nameless grudge”’, which Maxwell believes was ‘against authority’.<sup>94</sup> Such an interpretation is unfair to the original quotation, which was from Hettie Burton. She wrote about the lifelong effects of slavery on those who not only survived the trail to Angola, but also the eventual return home to Congo. She wrote about ‘the slave yoke scars on their necks’ and ‘scars of lashes on their backs’ and also went on to write of their psychological scars. She talked of ‘a nameless grudge in their hearts’ which meant they did not position themselves ‘against authority’, as per Maxwell, but ‘even suspected their best friends of behaving meanly toward them’.<sup>95</sup> Such a grudge towards ‘best friends’ reveals much deeper psychological disfigurement than a mere stance against authority.

Hettie Burton wrote that both she and Burton ‘tried to laugh one old lady out of ‘wincing’ if anyone walked up to her ‘too abruptly’. This woman replied to both Burtons ‘with tears in her eyes’ saying:

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<sup>91</sup> CEMR 3 (January-March 1924): 23.

<sup>92</sup> Louis-Napoléon Chaltin, ‘La Question Arabe au Congo’ in *Bulletin de la Société Belge d’Etudes Coloniales*, 1: (1894): 179, cited by Merriam in *An African World*, 17-18.

<sup>93</sup> Burton, *Man*, 19.

<sup>94</sup> Maxwell, ‘Freed,’ 80.

<sup>95</sup> H. Burton, *My Black Daughters* (Luton: AOG, 1949), 76.

If you had been beaten in the face as we have, flung to the ground, stamped on, if you had seen your companions' throats cut or spears forced through their bodies, or had heard them shriek and plead as they were roasted alive, or had wooden spikes driven into their brains you, too, would wince if someone approached you too abruptly.<sup>96</sup>

Hettie Burton wrote that there were many accounts given to her, especially by women, which would 'not bear the light of cold print' with the women living as 'poor derelicts, victims of human lust and cruelty' and therefore becoming 'naturally neurotic, bitter and apprehensive'.<sup>97</sup>

The effects of the Angolan slave trail, in which Burton establishes Shalumbo's complicity, are exemplified by another story, this time recounted to Blythe, by a Congolese woman in 1934. Many years before, as a twelve-year-old girl, she had been snatched away from her village, Nkeba<sup>98</sup> by Shalumbo and sold to a chief in Angola who 'was very cruel to her' and he, one day, 'in a fit of temper [...] bit one of her fingers off'. As a slave, she had three children by this chief. The story continues telling how this girl eventually returned to Congo and was baptised in water at Kipushya with Shalumbo watching, not as her abductor, but as her church leader.<sup>99</sup> Although this story is used in *CEMR* to exemplify the Christian virtues of grace and forgiveness, it also reveals Shalumbo's complicity in the slave trade and devastatingly distressing the lives of many. Burton writing in *Man*, maybe because of his strong view on spiritual regeneration, narrates an unbowdlerised account. Burton wants the reader to grasp Shalumbo's collusion in these barbarisms. Shalumbo was attacking villages in order to take the 'best of the inhabitants' for slaves 'while the feeble and useless were destroyed'.<sup>100</sup> Burton, the artist, is painting a dark background. Burton's stated aim was that readers of *Man* understand: 'How amazing the change when the slave-raider [...] becomes

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<sup>96</sup> H. Burton, *My Black Daughters*, 77. Edmund Hodgson, albeit at a later time, tells of rescuing new Christians from a group of Bumbudye secret society 'witchdoctors' who were ready to roast the converts alive. It was Hodgson's stating to their faces that he would 'follow each perpetrator of the crime to his grave' that impressed the 'chief witchdoctor' so much, that he declared that Hodgson 'must love the natives more than we do' and subsequently released the men to Edmund Hodgson: 'Teddy Hodgson, Z1', audio, Undated, J. Emmett archives.

<sup>97</sup> H. Burton, *My Black Daughters*, 79.

<sup>98</sup> A small village in Katanga, near Kalonda on the way from Kipushya to Kamina.

<sup>99</sup> *CEMR* 48 (May-June 1934): 795.

<sup>100</sup> Burton, *Man*, 22. Burton is actually describing Shalumbo's antics here on his return trip to Bunkeya from Angola; nevertheless, the indictment still stands.

the devoted servant of the Lord Jesus Christ'.<sup>101</sup> He is therefore keen to portray the power within the 'transforming moment' to come later on in Shalumbo's life.<sup>102</sup>

#### 5.2.4 Bunkeya: Slave Trading Centre and Home of Masele

Bunkeya, in what is now called Katanga, was at the time of Shalumbo's setting off from Kitole, the seat of Mwenda Msiri Ngelengwa Shitambi, known generally as Msiri (sometimes called Mishidi). He was desperate for more military power to subdue other people groups and Bunkeya eventually became the key location within Katanga for trading slaves to the Portuguese who travelled from Bié in Angola.<sup>103</sup> Msiri did this after initially securing a route by sending his nephew from Bunkeya to the Portuguese coast to trade ivory with Silva Porto.<sup>104</sup> His domain was known by some Europeans as the Garenganze Kingdom and covered most of what became Katanga.<sup>105</sup> Others also from Tanganyika and from the Bayeke people group (meaning hunters) joined with him. One of those was a young woman named Masele, about whom Burton writes comparatively very little.

On his journey to Angola, according to three sources other than Burton (Marcel, Ebondo and Mbesengye), Shalumbo passed through Bunkeya, where he met the young woman named Masele, fell in love with her and married her. Mbesengye says Shalumbo and Kiolema stayed some time at Bunkeya before moving on to Angola. Burton makes no mention of Masele at Bunkeya at all in his biography and the three Congolese sources have sparse details about this, but all concur.<sup>106</sup> Masele was from the Bayeke people, the same small people group from Tanganyika from which Msiri had come. If Mbesengye and Marcel do have the correct date for Shalumbo's journey to Angola, then Brethren missionaries would have been at

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<sup>101</sup> CEMR 68 (September-October 1937): 220.

<sup>102</sup> Paul G. Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008), 323-324. Hiebert writes about water baptism as one of the 'rituals' to mark the 'moment'. That did not occur for Shalumbo until after arriving in Mwanza, after his clear conversion experience. (Hiebert does not suggest water baptism is the only one.)

<sup>103</sup> According to an account given by his son, Mwenda II, given to the 'Prince of Belgium', Msiri had come from central Tanganyika, initially following a wounded elephant, which had led the group of elephant hunters to copper. Msiri ended up as a potentate subduing peoples in the region. See: Mwenda II, Letter to *Son Altesse Royale, Prince du Belgique*, cited in condensed form by Tilsley, *Dan Crawford*, 136-140.

<sup>104</sup> Tilsley, *Crawford*, 141. He thus completed the infamous trade route, along which many slaves travelled in chains, from Zanzibar to the west coast. Crawford gives his biography 'in a nutshell', including his marriage to a 'white wife', see: Crawford, *Thinking Black*, 181-186.

<sup>105</sup> A. Verbeken, *Msiri, Roi du Garenganze : l'Homme Rouge du Katanga* (Brussels : L. Cuypers, 1956), 27, 42. Cited by Garrard, in 'History,' 18. The Brethren missionary, Arnot called it this, but Crawford writing in 1922 reckoned that was a European misunderstanding and that 'no native knows the country by that name and I never did'. Cited by Tilsley, *Crawford*, 142.

<sup>106</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 2. Ebondo, 'Implantation,' 6. Mbesengye, interview.

Bunkeya at the time, among them Crawford. Crawford, C. Lane and Hugh B. Thompson arrived in Bunkeya in 1890 and were welcomed by Charles Swan and William Faulkner, who were already there.<sup>107</sup> Joseph Moloney, a mercenary (a doctor) noted that these Brethren missionaries were treated by Msiri as his 'white slaves'.<sup>108</sup> One cannot be certain when Masele would have arrived, given that Msiri would have been at Bunkeya for around thirty years before the arrival of 'Crawford, Lane and Thompson'.<sup>109</sup> (These three arrived 11<sup>th</sup> November 1890 and Msiri was killed by one of Moloney's associates on 20 December 1891. Tilsley points out this was 404 days after their arrival.)<sup>110</sup> It is more than likely that Masele would have at the very least known of their presence given the relative smallness of Bunkeya's resident population. It is plausible that she heard them preach their message. One can only speculate as to whether or not Burton realised this or ever asked Masele about it. Masele was in any case in an environment which was counter cultural to the morals the missionaries were teaching. Moloney more than hinted at a lack of morality among the women of Bunkeya.<sup>111</sup>

### 5.3 In Angola

Burton goes on to tell how Shalumbo along with Kiolema, mere tyros as slave traders, imprudently bartered all their guns and powder for slaves thus leaving them with many slaves, but unprotected.<sup>112</sup> Unsurprisingly, they were ambushed and all their slaves and ivory

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<sup>107</sup> Fred S. Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze: or four years' further work and travel in Central Africa* (London: J.E.Hawkins, 1893), 60. I do not use Arnot's spelling here, who spells his name as Faulknor; Burton in *Man* refers to the same man as Faulkner. Crawford agrees with Arnot's spelling, see: Crawford, *Thinking Black*, 209; Crawford refers to Faulkner's many illnesses in Africa.

<sup>108</sup> J. Moloney, *With Captain Stairs to Katanga: Slavery and Subjugation in the Congo 1891-92* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1893), 128. Moloney gives a graphic description of Msiri describing him as 'six feet high [...] some fourteen stone [...] he wore a short beard which had turned quite white [...] in his prime [...] he must have looked the the ideal of a warrior king'. Moloney also adds that he was so concerned about the missionaries having seen how Msiri publically humiliated them that if he (Moloney) were to come 'to blows with Msiri, the latter might wreak his vengeance upon our defenceless fellow-countrymen'; see: 129. William Stairs was working on behalf of King Leopold II upon the recommendation of Henry Morton Stanley (whom he had accompanied in 1887 in Southern Sudan). One of Stairs' men, Omer Bodson, a Belgian, eventually killed Msiri when the latter refused to be taken by him to Stairs.

<sup>109</sup> Tilsley, *Crawford*, 134.

<sup>110</sup> Tilsley, *Crawford*, 158.

<sup>111</sup> Moloney, *With Captain Stairs*, 131. Moloney makes a general sexist comment about the women in Bunkeya, describing them as having 'a fair allowance of good looks, and wore spiral circlets around the neck and arms' and adds, 'but their morals were to seek'. Moloney comments on the women in most places he visits throughout his book in quite sexist terms. He is also consistent in offensively referring to Africans as 'niggers'. I mention his comments here on the women of Bunkeya and his unacceptable racist language to show an example of unscrupulous colonials acting like sexual predators that could be found in Congo that Ngoloma had to face mentioned in the last chapter, and also that it will be seen Shalumbo's daughter had to face.

<sup>112</sup> Burton, *Man*, 12.



were taken off them by ‘the well-armed warriors of Mutombo Mukulu’.<sup>113</sup> It was on this journey that Shalumbo’s elder brother, Mutamba a Yamema, was killed after being trapped in a grass-fire lit by their pursuers; a pouch of gunpowder carried in a belt around his waist exploded and he died a few days later.<sup>114</sup> While this part of the Shalumbo narrative is re-told by every Congolese source I interviewed, Burton does not mention this in *Man*. Neither Burton nor Congolese sources explain how Shalumbo and Kiolema continued to Angola and arrived there ‘naked, starving and destitute’.<sup>115</sup> Mbesengye proffers they were arrested upon arriving in Angola, as they didn’t have official travel permits.<sup>116</sup>

Burton describes the Biéan highlands as ‘very different’ from ‘the wild country’ that Shalumbo had left. Here Shalumbo ‘saw white men for the first time’. The Portuguese were ‘surrounded by their European comforts and their African slaves’.<sup>117</sup> Burton at this point differentiates the lifestyles of the colonial Europeans and the missionary Europeans, he names Lane who had also been in Bunkeya:

Among the many white men in the country were three who seemed to be very different from the rest. Their names were Swan, Lane and Saunders. They did not possess slaves, or live as the other whites, with a harem of native women. They did not appear to be obsessed with that craving for wealth. Drunkenness and brutality were so usual that it seemed strange never to see these men drunken or brutal to the natives. In short, Eshiba (or “Kisoka,” the great burner, as the Biéans called him), thought that these men were decidedly silly and weak. He could not understand their making no response when they were insulted or returning good for evil when they were ill-treated. Then too, they apparently gave as much respect to a slave as to a free man. Only the Judgment Seat of Christ will show how much these lonely, brave pioneers have done for the opening up of the “Dark Continent”.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Burton, *Man*, 14. Burton describes Mutombo Mukulu as ‘a great chief’. Support for the ‘greatness’ of Mutombo Mukulu can be found in Pierre Petit, ‘Art et histoire des Luba méridionaux. Partie II Ethnicité, histoire politique et ateliers sur les frontières sud du royaume’ in *Anthropos* 100:1 (2005): 21 and in Jan Vansina, ‘The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje’, in *The Journal of African History* 4:3 (1963): 364-368. I mention these references to triangulate Burton’s writing.

<sup>114</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview; Marcel, *Muwa*, 3.

<sup>115</sup> Burton, *Man*, 14.

<sup>116</sup> Mbesengye, interview. No other source provides this.

<sup>117</sup> Burton, *Man*, 14. He adds that they saw, ‘large brick houses, men on horseback, strange fruit trees from other lands, and much more’ that ‘caused the young Kalebwe slaver bewilderment’, 14-15.

<sup>118</sup> Burton, *Man*, 15-16.

Such commendation in 1929 reflects a mellowing in Burton's tone when writing about Brethren missionaries; writing to Salter in 1919 he had expressed deep regret over the non-pentecostal teaching these same men gave to Shalumbo and others.<sup>119</sup>

### 5.3.1 Trading Expeditions

Burton writes that in Angola, Kiolema introduced Shalumbo to 'the great Bambundu [Bimundu] chief Kangombe and to his headman Katulumba'.<sup>120</sup> Fred Arnot in 1889 described Kangombe as being 'a little man scarcely five feet in height', but also recounted the atrocities committed by him having once followed him (six days later) in the wake of his slave-raiding foray.<sup>121</sup>

At a date Burton does not give, Katulumba took Kiolema and Shalumbo with him on 'an expedition for the purchase of slaves and ivory'. The objective was primarily to buy rubber, ivory and beeswax and the slaves were 'thrown in with the bargain, in very much the same way that a paper bag is given with goods bought in a shop'.<sup>122</sup> Following this, Shalumbo, even though he was a 'little above slavery himself', was eventually given slaves and made 'numerous journeys' working for Katulumba. Shalumbo made so much profit 'from his foul work' that he finally went into partnership with Katulumba.<sup>123</sup> Making personal profit was not unusual for those working in the slave trade in Shalumbo's position.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 18/12/1919. In 1919 his earlier-mentioned friendship with Crawford was still developing and this same Brethren missionary had yet to experience his baptism in the Spirit, which took place on July 8<sup>th</sup> 1925. See also: Burton, letter to Salter, 16/11/1925.

<sup>120</sup> Burton, *Man*, 15. Kangombe was a chief who had earlier overthrown the previous power of the Lunda people group in that region, decapitating former chief, Muata Yanvo. See: Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze*, 50. Actually Arnot is citing Crawford's diary here. Kangombe also claimed he had cut off Katema's head (David Livingstone's friend). See: Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze*, 45. Kangombe, according to Crawford, was not however, the supreme chief in the Lovale, but Kakenge; Kangombe was regarded, along with another chief, Nana Kandyundu, as his children or his tributaries. See: Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze*, 37.

<sup>121</sup> Arnot, 'Journey from Natal to Bihé', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, 11:2 (February 1889): 71-72. Arnot describes finding Kangombe's victims still alive, but tied to trees by bark cords, others had been 'mutilated and torn by wild animals'.

<sup>122</sup> Burton, *Man*, 16-17.

<sup>123</sup> Burton, *Man*, 17-19. The whole slave trade worked on the basis of there being a well-structured system where the term *ngwana* was given to the indigenous Africans, who were either young men wanting to free themselves from the domination of their societal elders, or simply those who freely joined a passing caravan, or more likely those who were carried off and later incorporated into the band of slave raiders. See: Francois Renault, 'The Structures of the Slave Trade in Central Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century' in *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, 9:3 (1988): 146-165. Also in William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 147-165. Shalumbo's so-called partnership with Katulumba could be seen as the final stage in a process of all of those factors merging to see him become an *ngwana*.

<sup>124</sup> Renault, 'The Structures,' 155.

Burton narrates how Shalumbo and Katulumba, working together, set off for a trading journey back to Bunkeya. On one of his sorties with Katulumba, Shalumbo was captured by Msiri's men and had a life-threatening stomach injury. Katulumba risked his life, 'under heavy fire' to save him.<sup>125</sup> Burton portrays Katulumba as a cruel slave trader but as having a gallant side to his nature. This is reinforced when Katulumba later shows kindness to Crawford. Burton is honouring 'the native' whenever he can in keeping with his view of all men and women being in God's image<sup>126</sup> and in his resistance to the earlier mentioned view that Noah's curse on Ham was a curse on the black man.<sup>127</sup>

While being nursed to recovery by Katulumba, Shalumbo witnessed Msiri's cruelty. Burton describes Msiri's 'favourite game' of blinding those who refused to accept his authority by squirting the juice from a particular cactus into their eyes.<sup>128</sup> In this cruel setting Burton recounts Shalumbo's surprise at seeing the missionaries he had seen in Angola, Swan, Thomas and Faulkner, not only protesting about the terrible loss of life, but also seeing them 'step forward before an execution and claim some poor, doomed wretch, that his life might be saved'. Burton defines the parameters of their actions saying they probably only saved 'one among a hundred' in this way.<sup>129</sup> Others have noted Brethren collusion with Msiri at the time allegedly included their acting as his barber.<sup>130</sup>

During this time Crawford, 'some little distance away', had all his home belongings washed away by the swollen Lofoi in flood. Katulumba gave Crawford 'a new rig-out of clothing etc.' and it was Shalumbo who was given a letter from Crawford to carry back to Lane in Bié 'asking that Katulumba be given a present commensurate with his fine generosity'.<sup>131</sup> The remarkable coincidence of Crawford's encounter, with one of Burton's key pentecostal agents prior to his conversion is an intriguing and noteworthy quirk. One can only speculate as to whether Burton and Crawford discussed this in any of their encounters. As will be seen,

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<sup>125</sup> Burton, *Man*, 23.

<sup>126</sup> Burton, notes on a loose piece of paper from his Bible. n.d.

<sup>127</sup> Burton, notes on single sheet of paper found in his Bible. n.d.

<sup>128</sup> Burton, *Man*, 24-25.

<sup>129</sup> Burton, *Man*, 26.

<sup>130</sup> Burton's view on how impotent the Brethren missionaries were under Msiri, and how they were 'used' by him (including being his barber) is filled out by Rotberg, 'Plymouth Brethren,' 285-297.

<sup>131</sup> Burton, *Man*, 28-29. Burton also describes how after Msiri's death many around Bunkeya 'turned to the Lord Jesus' and followed Crawford to Luanza, causing Crawford to gain the name of *Konga-bantu*, the gatherer of the people; see: *Man*, 27. For Crawford's graphic account of the Lofoi flood, see: Crawford, *Thinking Black*, 322-324. Crawford makes no mention of the help received from Katulumba.

Crawford was certainly aware of who Shalumbo was when Shalumbo was pioneering among the Basongye, even describing him as an apostle. Crawford, unlike Burton, had encountered him as ‘the slave trader’.

### 5.3.2 Living in Kingangu, Angola

Shalumbo spent around twenty years based in Angola living in a village called Kingangu in the sub-district of Kangombe in the district of Shatome.<sup>132</sup> The people of the Kangombe sub-district were talented; they impressed the Brethren missionary Arnot with their fish-farming; Arnot reckoned they were the first ‘natives, untaught by whites, he saw dam a river for any purpose’.<sup>133</sup> While in Kangombe, Shalumbo gained many skills; he was trained in carpentry,<sup>134</sup> metal work, masonry and rearing animals.<sup>135</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo adds that Katulumba ‘recognised his intelligence and gave him the responsibility of looking after other slaves’.<sup>136</sup>

Expeditions, like the one described above, made both Kangombe and Katulumba rich and powerful. They began to ‘demand presents’ and ‘tyrannise’ the Portuguese, until they could ‘stand it no longer’ and Kangombe and Katulumba were ‘seized and deported for life’ thus leaving Shalumbo and those in similar positions without ‘power and friends at a blow’.<sup>137</sup>

### 5.3.3 More Wives and Children

Marcel states that because of having made so much profit, Shalumbo was eventually able to ‘redeem himself and purchase his own freedom’.<sup>138</sup> He then married another two wives. The second was Malombo,<sup>139</sup> she was from the Rund chiefdom;<sup>140</sup> the third was called Nakapangwe according to Marcel.<sup>141</sup> Masele, who had arrived with Shalumbo in Angola as his wife, did not conceive early in the marriage. Only after Shalumbo took a second wife in

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<sup>132</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 3. Marcel actually refers to it as Kambonge. Kangombe was the town named after the chief according to the custom.

<sup>133</sup> Baker, *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot*, 166.

<sup>134</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview; Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>135</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>136</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>137</sup> Burton, *Man*, 34-35.

<sup>138</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 3.

<sup>139</sup> Mbesengye, interview. Marcel in *Muwa*, names this wife ‘Mwa Elombo’, 3.

<sup>140</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>141</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 3. Mbesengye contests this saying no one actually recorded the name of the third wife and she must remain unknown. The name Marcel gives, according to Mbesengye, is simply based upon her first child, Kapangwe, and so her name is recorded as Nyina (the mother of) Kapangwe, which is abridged to Nakapangwe. See: Mbesengye, interview.

Angola, Malombo, and had a son with her named Lumbo, did Masele conceive.<sup>142</sup> It was from this point he took the name, Shalumbo, simply meaning the father of Lumbo. This was his third and final name.

#### 5.3.4 Shalumbo's *Via Salutis*<sup>143</sup>

According to Burton, Shalumbo had three of his own slaves 'Shamako, Ngoma and Shakayobo' whipped with the '*chikote*',<sup>144</sup> as they 'had embraced the teaching of Mr. Saunders'. Nevertheless they continued to work and declared they 'would not renounce their faith in the Lord Jesus'.<sup>145</sup> Burton portrays Shalumbo's angst as increasing when Masele, 'his favourite wife, took her stand for the Lord Jesus, and began to attend Mr. Saunders' meetings'.<sup>146</sup> Mikoso states she started attending meetings as a result of mixing with 'influential' people who worked as 'gardeners and workers' in Portuguese homes.<sup>147</sup> (Mikoso's view of who was 'influential' in this period is noteworthy when realising Shalumbo later turned down receiving villages in a chiefdom to work for Burton at Mwanza.) Shalumbo's response was to give Masele 'the most terrible thrashing leaving her limp and weak'.<sup>148</sup> She responded by becoming 'even more tender' towards him, and 'cared for his every need'.<sup>149</sup> Marcel's account, congruent with Burton's here, states that Shalumbo beat Masele 'severely' and includes that Shalumbo even asked Katulumba to 'order her to give up Christianity'. Marcel adds Katulumba refused to do this and so Masele was free to worship and she started to pray for salvation for Shalumbo.<sup>150</sup> Mikoso is adamant that Masele's strength of character, which he states was known to all, was crucial for Shalumbo's conversion. He believes she suffered dreadfully during this time at the hands of Shalumbo.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Mbesengye, interview; Marcel, *Muwa*, 3.

<sup>143</sup> Stephen Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Cleveland: CPT Press, 1993, 2010), 67-69. This term as used by Land, could be said to describe the soteriological journey of Pentecostals moving on from experiential crisis to crisis as opposed to an *ordo salutis*, that is comprehending certain doctrines in a set order. Although Land uses it in a theological way, it seems apt to use it in a historiographical manner to describe Shalumbo's journey to salvation.

<sup>144</sup> A whip, usually made from the hide of a hippopotamus, at least in the Congolese context.

<sup>145</sup> Burton, *Man*, 35-36. Shakayobo went on to play a key role in the church in Katenta in Katanga. Burton described him as 'being almost childlike in his delight' when visiting there in 1928. See: *CEMR* 21 (July-September 1928): 296.

<sup>146</sup> Burton, *Man*, 44.

<sup>147</sup> Mikoso, interview with author.

<sup>148</sup> Burton, *Man*, 36-37.

<sup>149</sup> Burton, *Man*, 37.

<sup>150</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 3.

<sup>151</sup> Mikoso, interview with author.

Shalumbo then discovered the slaves he had had whipped with the *chikote* were praying for his salvation.<sup>152</sup> Burton describes his initial response as one of outrage, ‘Salvation indeed! From what did he need saving? His gun and wits had always saved him, and would stand him in good stead still’. Burton the evangelist succinctly puts across his gospel message. He chooses to record what Masele, while alone with Shalumbo, spoke of: ‘One who had given himself a willing sacrifice, the Guiltless bearing the sin of the guilty, in His own body, outside the wall of Jerusalem’. Burton continues, ‘at last the cruel slaver Kisoka fell on his knees at the feet of the crucified and risen Christ, and owned him Lord of all’.<sup>153</sup>

When Shalumbo accepted to own ‘him Lord of all’, he saw himself now obliged to separate from his two other wives, Malombo and the wife known as Nakapangwe.<sup>154</sup> Obviously, this was nothing to do with Burton’s stance on polygamy. What Burton would have actually advised Shalumbo to do, had he been present, might have been different. He saw ‘the neglected wife’ as ‘one of the crowning curses of polygamy’,<sup>155</sup> and did not insist wives had to be immediately sent away at the moment of a polygamist’s conversion.<sup>156</sup>

### 5.3.5 Shalumbo Starts His Ministry

Burton’s description of the transforming moment in Shalumbo’s life could be viewed as quite ordinary: Shalumbo alone with Masele, ‘falling to his knees’. The drama of conversion has to be seen in the ensuing, but rapid changes to Shalumbo’s lifestyle. Ebondo writes that within a few months Shalumbo was preaching the gospel in Lumingo, a village in Angola.<sup>157</sup> The conversion of the slave trader to gospel preacher was comparatively quick and radical, and

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<sup>152</sup> Burton, *Man*, 37.

<sup>153</sup> Burton, *Man*, 38.

<sup>154</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>155</sup> Burton, *Luba*, 95.

<sup>156</sup> *CEMR* 12, (April-June 1926): 135-139. In 1926 Burton gives five pages of *CEMR* to the story of Lumpungu, entitled, ‘From Witch-Doctor to Soul Winner’. The article describes Lumpungu’s conversion, as in the title. It then gives an explicit account of Lumpungu’s encounter with a leopard and how he survived after trying to choke the animal until it ran away, but having suffered ‘between 30 and 40 great deep wounds’ he was initially cared for by his wives who staunched the bleeding ‘by roots and leaves’. Burton then adds how Lumpungu was ‘refused baptism, as he retained his two wives. He did not feel he could chase them away.’ Burton praises Lumpungu’s decision not to ‘chase away’ any wife by commenting here that Lumpungu did ‘the best thing he could do under the circumstances. He refused to act on the impulse of the moment and gave himself to prayer for God’s guidance’. Burton clearly does not believe that one of the wives should be driven away. The story could be summarised by saying that one of the wives then decided she could no longer hear about Jesus and ‘begged’ to return to her father’s house. This happened and Lumpungu gave her father ‘a nice present as a reward for the time that the woman had been in his home, and telling her that henceforth she was at liberty to marry who she would’.

<sup>157</sup> Ebondo, ‘Implantation,’ 7.

certainly ‘without sparing the time for formal academic study’. Shalumbo is in a Brethren context, rather than a pentecostal one, and is very quickly seen as a preacher. Evidently not just the early Pentecostals could be accused of zealously preaching the gospel without ‘a thorough theological education’.<sup>158</sup>

Burton recounts how Shalumbo’s former slaves were now to him ‘as Onesimus was to Philemon - “once servants, but now brothers beloved”’. Burton clearly wants to show the full effect of Shalumbo’s conversion: Shalumbo promised his three slaves whom he had previously whipped that he ‘would do his best’ to see that they got back home again as he had personally been responsible for ‘dragging them from their distant homes’.<sup>159</sup>

Interestingly, two photographs of Shakayobo appear in *CEMR* on the same page. Although Burton is using a metaphor, the image of Shakayobo being dragged by Shalumbo is reinforced in the one photo, a group picture taken years later, entitled, ‘Mr Thomas and the Bekalebwe Evangelists’. This picture shows around twenty Congolese standing or sitting on the ground around Rupert Thomas, seated in a chair, with pith helmet. Shakayobo (back row, fourth from left) is standing next to Shalumbo who is clearly several inches taller.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Stephenson, *Types of Pentecostal Theology*, 4. Stephenson is referring to early western Pentecostals here.

<sup>159</sup> Burton, *Man*, 40.

<sup>160</sup> *CEMR* 8 (April-June 1925): 75. Thomas wears a pith helmet. I am speaking literally here, but the pith-helmeted westerner in colonial African regimes can become a trope for a detached observer.

Figure 16

Shakayobo standing next to Shalumbo

Photo taken from CEMR



**Mr. Thomas with the Bekalebwe Evangelists.**

Burton gives weight to the Brethren missionaries' role in Shalumbo's ongoing transformation. He describes how Shalumbo saw the Brethren missionaries as his 'constant counsellors'. After having explained this, Burton portrays Shalumbo as calling all his own slaves together and declaring them to 'to be as free as he, and could go where and when they would'; Shalumbo told 'two of his three wives' they were 'free to marry whom they would as he wanted to live with only one wife', yet he also 'assured them they would be provided for, he would give them exactly the same support as always'.<sup>161</sup>

#### 5.3.5.1 Shalumbo's Spiritual Desires

Marcel indicates that although Shalumbo 'grieved' as the gospel had not arrived in his homeland, he was nervous about returning, thinking 'when I settle back there among unbelievers with my wife and children we will lose our faith [...] maybe we will even start to get involved again in heathen customs and the worship of spirits'.<sup>162</sup> Burton does not write in this way in 1929. Burton is more idealistic than Marcel. Shalumbo is perceived to have gone from strength to strength in his spiritual journey at that time. Unlike Burton in 1929, Marcel writes with the perspective of having witnessed Shalumbo's life till his death in 1937.

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<sup>161</sup> Burton. *Man*, 39.

<sup>162</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 5.



Burton's own love of the Bible comes across as he lauds Shalumbo's ability to learn 'large sections' of the Bible by heart.<sup>163</sup> Memorising the Bible was something Burton did and encouraged others to do throughout his life, citing Psalm 119:11.<sup>164</sup> Shalumbo's capacity to memorise the Bible was in spite of his impaired vision, which was 'discovered too late' and denied him the ability to ever read. His conversion experience is further proven by revealing how Shalumbo starts up a 'little meeting-house' and throws himself into 'making willing slaves for the Lord Jesus, as heartily as he had worked a few months before, in trading ivory and human flesh'.<sup>165</sup> Writing of a stirring of the heart was something Burton had done before to describe his own feelings as he 'yearned' for 'the gospel to be made known' in 'hundreds of villages still unoccupied for Christ'.<sup>166</sup> Burton paints Shalumbo's desires using the same language; Shalumbo now no longer has 'aspirations for earthly gain and honour', yet he finds his heart 'strangely stirred and unsettled'.<sup>167</sup> He starts thinking of 'those villages among the hills and forests of Lubaland and the Bekalebwe where he had spent his youth'.<sup>168</sup> Strictly speaking, Burton is wrong here, as Shalumbo had spent none of his youth in Lubaland. Perhaps Burton owns Shalumbo here as one who would go on to spend time spearheading Burton's mission in Lubaland before returning to the Basongye. The biographer is possibly again projecting something of himself into his character.

### 5.3.6 Preparations for Returning to Kipushya

Burton moves his biography on to introduce preparations for Shalumbo's return by simply stating that the 'Portuguese were setting every slave at liberty'.<sup>169</sup> Marcel cites John 8:32, 'The truth will make you free' to introduce the declaration of the abolition of slavery in Angola. He writes how about two hundred people then met with Saunders asking for a letter authorising their return to their respective home areas. Saunders obtained the relevant documents and Shalumbo set off with Masele and their four children, and also with the two

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<sup>163</sup> Burton, *Man*, 40.

<sup>164</sup> W.F.P.Burton, "'How to Treat Your Bible", 'Address given To Coloured Pastors at Elsie's River, Cape.' *Bible Notes*, No. 18, 29/11/1961

<sup>165</sup> Burton, *Man*, 40.

<sup>166</sup> *CEMR* 10 (October-December 1925): 107.

<sup>167</sup> Burton, *Man*, 40.

<sup>168</sup> Burton, *Man*, 41.

<sup>169</sup> Burton, *Man*, 41. The decree was passed in 1913 when slaves could choose their employers, and be engaged in two-year contracts but they were not allowed to return home until after those contracts expired. See: Catherine Higgs, *Chocolate Islands: Cocoa, Slavery, and Colonial Africa* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), 159.

children Malombo had.<sup>170</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo tells how Shalumbo's master in Angola liberated him and gave him a letter granting him his freedom.<sup>171</sup> The aim was to return to Kipushya not to take gunpowder but the Christian message.<sup>172</sup> Shalumbo's brother, Mudimbyi a ya Mema, decided to stay in Angola. Marcel mentions Bushito Mudimbyi, as the one who had led the group which had set off from Kitole 22 years ago as another who decided to stay in Angola with all his family.<sup>173</sup> Marcel tells how they refused to journey to Kipushya after considering the people there to be 'heathen' as they did not keep cattle.<sup>174</sup> Mbesengye stresses that Shalumbo and his brother had both become wealthy in Angola and were raising cattle. To leave all that behind was a huge material sacrifice for Shalumbo, and one that his brother and two of his sons did not see the need to make.<sup>175</sup>

Burton observes there was a chain of mission stations that would be ready to help the freed slaves on their journey,<sup>176</sup> especially once they showed the papers given by the Brethren missionaries.<sup>177</sup> Marcel notes how the Brethren missionaries reassured Shalumbo that he could travel, as the gospel would have spread 'almost everywhere' since he had left Kitole.<sup>178</sup> The optimism and sense of the gospel advancing through mission work is neither unique to Pentecostalism nor white missionaries.<sup>179</sup> In all this proposed and evident cooperation between missionaries and the Congolese freed slaves for the advance of the gospel message, there is a real example not just of 'African appropriation in the process of Christianizing Africa', but also, and perhaps more importantly at this stage in Shalumbo's biography, of 'mission' being seen as 'a common endeavour of foreigners and local people'.<sup>180</sup> In the spirit

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<sup>170</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 4.

<sup>171</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>172</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>173</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 5. Other names of those who decided to remain in Angola are given by Mbesengye: Pamba Ndala, Tshite Kifwinda, and two of Shalumbo's own children Kapangwe and Bimbwando. The latter two, along with their mother would have made up a family unit without their father present, but according to Mbesengye, they were under the care of their paternal uncle, Mudimbyi a ya Mema. Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>174</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 5. Even today in the DRC, there is a certain kudos about keeping cattle. In the town of Kabinda, (ninety miles from Kipushya) the Harvest Evangelical Church have a cattle rearing programme, mainly to supply meat, but also to raise the prestige of the town of Kabinda and lessen the effects of a rural exodus of educated younger men and women out to the larger cities.

<sup>175</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>176</sup> Burton, *Man*, 42. Burton lists some of the missionary couples who would be willing to help: Schindlers, Fishers and Pipers.

<sup>177</sup> Mbesengye, interview. He refers to the papers as 'church membership cards'.

<sup>178</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 5.

<sup>179</sup> Stanley, 'The Outlook for Christianity in 1914,' 593.

<sup>180</sup> Christine Lienemann-Perrin, Atola Longkumer, Marilú Salazar, Karla Ann Koll, Afrie Songco Joye and Cathy Ross, 'Women's Absence and Presence in the History and Records of Christian Mission' in *Putting Names with*

of ‘common endeavour’, Burton praises the Brethren missionaries. They had displayed the same humility as George Müller of Bristol who had supported them. In their willingness to discharge Shalumbo, who Burton writes must have been a real pillar in ‘the Angola mission work’, they were releasing him to the ‘great stretches of the country in the Far Interior [...] still awaiting the gospel message’.<sup>181</sup> Freeing Shalumbo from his own immediate influence to be the harbinger of Pentecostalism to regions ‘awaiting the gospel message’ was something Burton himself would repeat later, yet less radically, as Burton would keep Shalumbo within his mission.

The preparations for the journey were immense; Burton likened it to a ‘second flight from Egypt’. It was not just white missionaries who left everything to go to Congo; Burton does highlight the sacrificial aspect of selling sheep, goats, fruit trees and houses to be converted into the most portable possessions. (Unlike Mbesengye, he does not mention cattle.) He also emphasised Shalumbo’s leadership saying everyone looked to him ‘to lead the way’;<sup>182</sup> he was after all ‘a man of strong, pushing personality’.<sup>183</sup>

No one is able to give the date of Shalumbo’s conversion and so work out how long he spent in Angola as a believer. Burton suggests some kind of timescale when he writes of several years of post conversion ‘happy fellowship’ in Angola when referring to the thirty who all made the journey from Bié as far as Mwanza.<sup>184</sup> This would be ample time for the Brethren missionaries to inculcate an illiterate Shalumbo with their teaching.

#### 5.4 The Journey to Mwanza

The exodus started with around two hundred or so freed slaves setting off. The first difficulty came soon with someone Burton describes as a ‘dirty white man’ at the border refusing to sign their papers.<sup>185</sup> This was at Luluwa.<sup>186</sup> He had ‘taken a fancy’ to Shalumbo’s eldest daughter and was attempting to ‘get the poor girl in his harem’ before letting them pass. It

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*Faces: Women’s Impact In Mission History*, eds. Christine Lienemann-Perrin, Atola Longkumer, and Afrie Songco Joye (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2012), 56.

<sup>181</sup> Burton, *Man*, 41-42.

<sup>182</sup> Burton, *Man*, 43.

<sup>183</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 38.

<sup>184</sup> *RFWFPB* 8 (17/10/1916).

<sup>185</sup> Burton, *Man*, 44-45.

<sup>186</sup> Mbesengye, interview. The fact that Mbesengye is aware of this incident and gives such information which is not mentioned by Marcel is strong evidence of his conversations with Shalumbo. Mbesengye had not read *Man*.

was Masele, normally ‘placid and respectful’, who went to the white man with ‘indignation’ and told him they would never ‘give way to his lustful designs’ and continued further and ‘spoke to him about the foul life he was living’.<sup>187</sup> Mbesengye states Masele ‘intervened with much insistence’.<sup>188</sup> Soon after Masele’s intervention, the two hundred travellers were given their papers.<sup>189</sup> In spite of Burton’s concerns about women having authority over men, this provides an empirically accurate portrayal of Masele’s strength of character and Burton’s willingness to describe it at this point. Masele’s staunch resoluteness in this situation contrasts (albeit outside of a church context) with the view that women in African church history played a key role only through witnessing single missionary women acting with a freedom and equality. Such functional, as opposed to theological, liberty was given to women by missionary societies living in the despondency of a mind-set that believed ‘the workers are few’<sup>190</sup>; an authorisation generally denied to them in their homeland.<sup>191</sup> Masele, at least here, plays a lead role in a situation in her own right and without any single (or married) white female missionary model to follow. The Brethren missionaries were all single men.

Marcel gives more details from the perspective of one who would have travelled a lot without the missionary luxury of carriers. He recounts how the group of returnees had to transport their young children and all their goods in bundles on their heads. Shalumbo’s Congolese biographer conveys the effort expended more than his missionary biographer. Burton had written to Salter in 1925 saying he had had cut down his carriers to only eight in 1924, and had recently purchased front and back carriers for his cycle hoping to manage in the future with ‘just one boy’ to accompany him.<sup>192</sup>

Mbesengye reinforces Marcel’s account concerning Shalumbo’s aforementioned fear; his ‘major concern’ as he travelled was to find missionaries to ‘spiritually strengthen and guide

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<sup>187</sup> Burton, *Man*, 44-45.

<sup>188</sup> Mbesengye, email via Claude, 24/01/2014.

<sup>189</sup> Burton, *Man*, 44-45.

<sup>190</sup> For examples of this mind-set, see: *CEMR* 5 (July-September 1924): 46, Rupert Thomas quotes this biblical reference writing from Kipushya; *CEMR* 7 (January-March 1925): 70, Burton quotes it here; Womersley quotes it in *CEMR* 18 (October-December 1927): 238.

<sup>191</sup> For example, Lienemann-Perrin et al., ‘Women’s Absence and Presence,’ 60-61.

<sup>192</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 04/02/1925. Mikoso describes Johnstone as never pedalling his bicycle, employing someone to run alongside him pushing it with a forked branch. Mikoso, interview with author. During my own ten years at Kipushya I heard many times the story that Johnstone employed someone to chase away any cockerels near to his house during siesta time.

them'.<sup>193</sup> There is insecurity in Shalumbo's spiritual life that the missionaries in their 'constant counsellors'<sup>194</sup> role had not eradicated. An alternative reading could see genuine desire to fellowship with others having a God-given desire to do mission. The latter interpretation would temper the very pentecostal vision of experience of baptism in the Spirit, which Shalumbo had not yet had, as being a prerequisite for missionary journeying. There is a paradox in the fact that Shalumbo and Masele, with Shakayobo and many others were embarking upon not just joining Burton's mission, but providing the much needed 'quantum leap',<sup>195</sup> yet they would have failed to meet the spiritual requirement of testifying to baptism in the Spirit which Burton's white missionaries needed to fulfil.<sup>196</sup>

Ngoy Shalumbo recounts how whenever Shalumbo arrived in villages where churches could be found he thought he would join them, but never found any he could accept until his arrival at Mwanza.<sup>197</sup> Mbesengye believes the first missionaries in Congo that Shalumbo encountered were Methodist missionaries at Mulungwishi, between Likasi and Fungurume in Katanga. From there they went to Bunkeya and stayed with Masele's family. They then passed through Kikondja and went into Nkwanda in the Kasese territory where they met Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>198</sup> Marcel describes how the latter 'with their black followers made the sign of the cross with their hands' and so, Shalumbo 'realised they were not of the same Christian persuasion'.<sup>199</sup> The journey had to continue. Burton is not slow to excoriate Roman Catholics, but does not mention this.

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<sup>193</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>194</sup> Burton, *Man*, 39. This was describing the relationship between missionaries, his erstwhile enemies, with Shalumbo after his conversion.

<sup>195</sup> Anderson, *Spreading*, 182.

<sup>196</sup> Minutes of the Mwanza Conference, No.16, October 1925. This minute tells of one candidate, 'Mr Carlisle', who had fulfilled all the criteria for being accepted as a CEM missionary apart from being 'baptised in the Holy Ghost'. He was told he would be gladly welcomed only after meeting that criterion. Interestingly, Philip Myerscough could take over from his father as mission secretary in Preston without fulfilling the ideal of being baptised in the Spirit; he later was. Burton wrote to him how his heart was 'too full for words' upon hearing the news that he had been 'filled with the Holy Spirit in the good old-fashioned way'. Burton added that ever since Philip Myerscough 'undertook the work of Hon. Sec & Treas. this has been a constant matter of prayer with your fellow workers for the Congo, and now a big note of praise is going from end to end of the field'. See: Burton, letter to Philip Myerscough, 05/05/1934. It was not just baptism in the Spirit that Burton saw as an ideal. Six months prior to this Burton's frustration had come out as he wrote to the Salters saying he was 'amazed to see the evident laxity of our home council' they had accepted a Miss Davis who believed in 'the Saxby teaching on "soul sleep"'. See: Burton, letter to the Salters, 30/11/1933.

<sup>197</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>198</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>199</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 7.

### 5.4.1 Arriving at Mwanza.

Before setting off for Congo, Burton in 1915 had been at a 'farewell meeting' in Johannesburg where many 'fervent prayers' were being made for himself, Salter, Blakeney and Armstrong. One elderly lady prayed, "'Lord, please raise up some faithful native Christian workers, who are already fluent in the language, and can help from the start, in preaching the gospel message'". Burton states, 'a smile came across my face' and he thought:

The poor woman does not seem to understand that we are setting out for a part of the Belgian Congo where there are absolutely no Christians, and where the precious name of the Lord Jesus Christ has never been heard. How can we expect to find native Christian helpers before we learn the language, and are able to point them to the Saviour? <sup>200</sup>

Burton expresses his feeling of helplessness at Mwanza prior to Shalumbo's arrival, at the end of September 1916 describing his experience at Mwanza as 'trying in the extreme'. He writes how he and Salter had seen Armstrong die and Blakeney leave. They themselves had 'more than once looked death very closely in the face'. They were 'saddened by the terrible idolatry and superstition that surrounded them'. However desirous they were of seeing the Baluba comprehend what it meant to be 'born again and set free from sin', they were most frustrated by a language that 'seemed so intricate, the idiom so involved that they often felt their utter helplessness'. They had managed to translate two or three hymns into Kiluba and one Sunday morning were holding a service underneath some mahogany trees.<sup>201</sup> Reports from around the time suggest there could have been around one hundred to one hundred and sixty attending.<sup>202</sup>

Meanwhile Shalumbo with around thirty others were approaching Mwanza Hill. Ngoy Shalumbo tells how the thirty 'heard the missionaries singing in the distance, 'What can wash away my sin, nothing but the blood of Jesus' and realised that they had found true brothers. They joined in singing, 'in Kimbundu (from Angola) and in Kiluba (the language of Mwanza); they sang together in both languages at the same time'.<sup>203</sup> Lubaba Bikomo was

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<sup>200</sup> Burton, *Man*, 45-46.

<sup>201</sup> Burton, *Man*, 46-47.

<sup>202</sup> *RFWFPB* 8 (17/10/1916). This is the range of numbers Burton says were attending 'Sunday morning services on the mission station' at this time. He also adds. 'and in the villages we also get good numbers', but does not specify the numbers.

<sup>203</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview. This would have been possible as among the thirty were Muswaka, a Muluba who eventually settled at Katombe (near to Kabalo) and Gédéon, another Muluba who settled eventually at Lulungu. See: Mbesengye, interview. Katombe and Lulungu became CEM mission stations. Burton describes

station pastor of Mwanza in 1980, and when interviewed by Garrard, told him that the thirty consisted of five men, six women and nineteen children most of whom spoke only Kimbundu.<sup>204</sup>

Burton describes his first view of the group as ‘a party of about 30 travel-stained men, women and children [...] with tears of joy trickling down their faces’.<sup>205</sup> Burton manifests his pentecostal credentials in claiming miraculous timing in response to the prayer of the ‘old woman’ in Johannesburg. Burton describes how Shalumbo, as a ‘thin eager man, evidently the leader of the band stepped forward and politely handed to the missionaries a letter written in English [...] from their fellow-labourers in Bié, Angola, commending the emancipated slaves’. He then continues to describe, what any Pentecostal, would struggle to accept as coincidence:

It was now the turn of the missionaries to mop their eyes, and to feel their hearts bursting with the realisation of God’s great goodness, since the date at the head of the letter of commendation, the date on which these people had left their Biéan homes, was exactly the date of that day when, away off, half way across the African Continent, that little old lady in the Johannesburg prayer meeting had prayed from the corner of the room, “And Lord, please find them some faithful native workers.” The party had spent weary months in their long tramp, hampered as they were by their little ones, but God had answered the prayer to the very day.<sup>206</sup>

Burton describes the group as being ‘full of joy’ at reaching ‘the end of their 740 mile tramp’.<sup>207</sup> The journey had lasted fifteen months.<sup>208</sup> Shalumbo, it will be seen, did not believe he had reached the end of his ‘tramp’ as he was still ‘twenty one days tramp’ away from the Bekalebwe people to whom he wanted to return. The Brethren missionaries had not baptised any of the freed slaves in water. It was not until after an undisclosed amount of time that the missionaries felt confident to baptise these freed slaves and it was only after ‘the sincerity of their faith was manifest’ that Salter baptised them, seemingly en masse in the Lungui River.<sup>209</sup>

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this slightly differently with the missionaries hearing the thirty sing first and the missionaries joining with them in, see: *Man*, 47-48.

<sup>204</sup> Lubaba Bikomo, interview with Garrard, Mwanza, 13/12/1980 cited by Garrard in ‘History,’ 48.

<sup>205</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 47.

<sup>206</sup> Burton, *Man*, 49. Burton, Armstrong, Blakeney and Salter had set off from Johannesburg on June 30<sup>th</sup> 1915.

<sup>207</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 47.

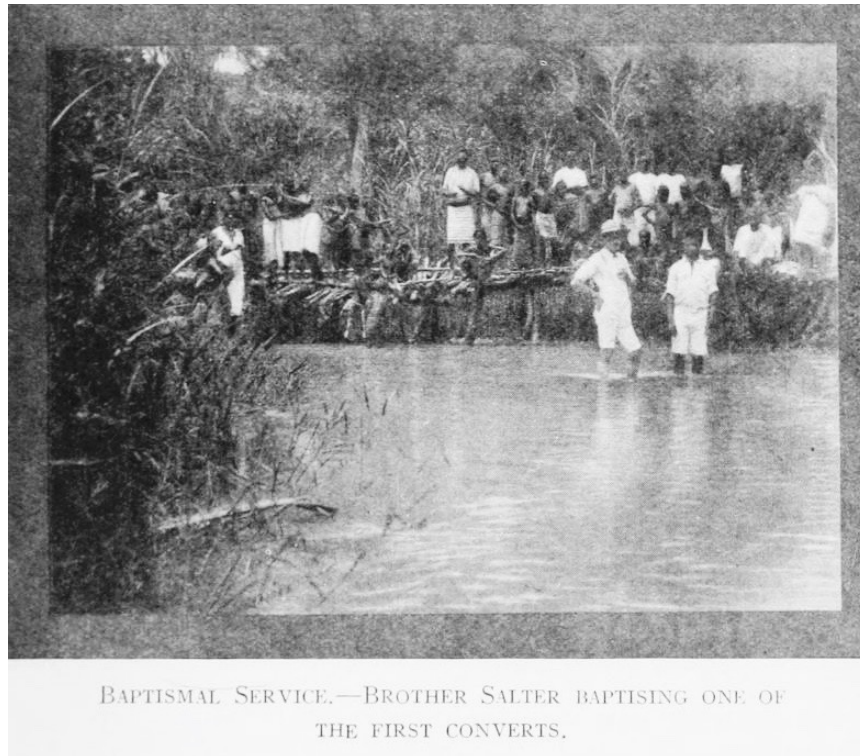
<sup>208</sup> *RFWFPB* 8 (17/10/1916).

<sup>209</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 39. (This is in contrast to the aforesaid case of Burton’s immediately baptising the farmhand who professed faith on his walk from Preston to Manchester.)

Figure 17

Salter baptising an early convert

Taken from *Missionary Pioneering*



### 5.5 A ‘Quantum-Leap’<sup>210</sup>

After so many months of travelling they must have wanted to rest, especially as Masele had given birth to a boy during the journey.<sup>211</sup> Burton describes the group as ‘scarcely able to eat or sleep for their craving to preach’. He states their ‘one great longing was that their fellow countrymen might know the gospel of the Lord Jesus’.<sup>212</sup> In October 1916 Burton could ‘praise God’ for their ‘simple, happy testimony’ and described them as ‘already a real help in the work’.<sup>213</sup> It was not only explaining the message that made Shalumbo useful, his natural leadership ability was appreciated. Burton now had local agency on the side of the Christian message coupled with a strong personality. Burton paints Shalumbo as a ‘strong, pushing personality, and absolutely uncompromising in his attitude against sin’. Although he was a Musongye living among the Baluba, ‘he was able to perform a useful part in keeping the

<sup>210</sup> Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 182. This is Anderson’s phrase to describe the arrival of the freed slaves.

<sup>211</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 8. The boy’s name was Mudimbyi Alphonse Philippe.

<sup>212</sup> Burton, *Man*, 50.

<sup>213</sup> *RFWFPB* 8 (17/10/1916).



early Luban Church from sins which probably would not come to the notice of the white missionaries for months.<sup>214</sup>

Burton acknowledges their usefulness in other ways too in *Man*; they were gifted in ‘cutting fine planks in a saw pit’ and ‘understood cultivation of rice, potatoes, and other things which were quite unknown in Lubaland’.<sup>215</sup> Such skills as cutting planks must have contributed to Burton writing around ten years later to the CEM home council telling them to cut down on the list making up the ‘outfit’ that new missionaries had to acquire before setting off from Europe. Burton was able to write, ‘on our mission stations we have saw-pits where we can rip timber as fine as any you ever saw in Europe, and where our boys can make fine tables chairs cupboards etc.’<sup>216</sup> Looking back in 1933, the arrival of Shalumbo et al. in 1916 was described by Burton as ‘a wonderful help’.<sup>217</sup>

Mbesengye, a man who never accepted the Christian message, reckons Burton and his missionaries ‘profited’ from Shalumbo’s presence along with the other Basongye who were with him. Mbesengye states that they asked them to stay at Mwanza, and ‘used his zeal’.<sup>218</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, a station pastor at Kipushya, more sympathetically describes how Burton and Salter organised housing for the freed slaves and provided food for them.<sup>219</sup> Burton wrote that they never asked for food, and sometimes they would go two or three days without food before Burton and Salter noticed it; the lack of food came from their neglecting their gardens to preach the gospel.<sup>220</sup> Burton did shoot buffalo for them seeing at times the provision of buffalo to shoot as nothing short of miraculous; on one occasion Burton saw this as a counter to an ‘old sorcerer who had twitted us’ about a previous failed hunting trip.<sup>221</sup>

The freed slaves soon built their own housing on Mwanza mission hill and sought to become self-sufficient with seed they had brought from Angola. Nevertheless, Burton writes ‘for days

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<sup>214</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 38.

<sup>215</sup> Burton, *Man*, 50.

<sup>216</sup> Burton, letter to CEM Home Council, 28/01/1926. Burton adds ‘So sanction NO furniture’ and goes on to point out that ‘The Prince of the Belgians and members of the royal household were delighted to use my cane chairs, and the Governor has gratefully accepted two for the Governor’s palace, so that our missionaries should not object to giving me the cost price for them. Nine shillings!’

<sup>217</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 37.

<sup>218</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>219</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>220</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 47.

<sup>221</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 48.

they would be absent from this little village, and then they would come back looking very thin, sometimes almost tottering, but always so happy to think that more and more were hearing the glad news of sins forgiven, and of peace with God'.<sup>222</sup> One should bear in mind here that Burton is writing *Man* before writing any account of mission history. The hagiographical tone regarding the self-sacrifice of the freed slaves could be viewed as incentivising western readers to come and join the missionary activity in Congo. Indisputably, the felt need for more missionaries was weighing on Burton's mind in the years before writing *Man*. In February 1925 he was writing to Salter about a 'lack of staff' lamenting the fact that many were about to go on furlough and the Johnstones' 'continuance in the mission still doubtful'. Also 'there was nobody training to take over the work in the North among the Basongi and Bekalebwe'. (sic)<sup>223</sup>

### 5.5.1 Shalumbo's Leadership Soon Appreciated

Shalumbo's 'usefulness' or cynically their 'profiting' from him,<sup>224</sup> is seen as 'many of the older Lubans were openly suspicious of the new white men on Kayembe Hill, while women would scream to their children, as soon as the missionaries appeared, "Run! Run! The white strangers are coming to eat you up."'".<sup>225</sup> Burton evinces his indebtedness to the party of freed slaves and especially to Shalumbo. This was not only for the aforementioned new skills, but because 'above all they were able to explain in detail the message which the white men could only tell so poorly'.<sup>226</sup> Shalumbo 'refused to be regarded as in any way superior to those who had once been his slaves [...] was a born leader, and could not help taking the initiative, while the rest of the party looked to him instinctively to direct them'.<sup>227</sup> Shalumbo had a 'unique way of preaching' and would dialogue with his hecklers, be very active and use visual illustrations such as challenging them to make the spirit they worshipped cause the streams to flow uphill and defy his God who had made them run downhill. Burton wrote, 'Though Shalumbo could neither read nor write, yet it was remarkable to note his freshness of

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<sup>222</sup> Burton, *Man*, 50.

<sup>223</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 04/02/1925. The Bekalebwe, as mentioned earlier, being a sub group of the Basongye.

<sup>224</sup> Mbesengye, email via Claude, 11/12/2013.

<sup>225</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 38.

<sup>226</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 38. Although, as was seen in the previous chapter, Burton did personally train Ngoloma to be his 'chief carpenter'. Ngoloma was in the second group of freed slaves to arrive at Mwanza, the ones influenced by Walter Currie, or Mr Kole.

<sup>227</sup> Burton, *Man*, 51.

style'.<sup>228</sup> Kazembe lists his 'great preachers' as Shalumbo along with Shakayobo and Ngoloma.<sup>229</sup>

### 5.5.2 Shalumbo and the Ngoimani Valley

The outreach to the Ngoimani valley started in February 1917 and Shalumbo's name is in the narrative from the beginning. Hodges and Richardson made a visit to Luamba, the chief village of the Ngoimani valley, about 25 miles away from Mwanza. They returned saying that 'big villages' were 'eager to hear the Gospel message'.<sup>230</sup> Burton and Salter went and preached around them and within a month were writing of the setting up of a 'second mission site' building a temporary house. (This was done in March, the wettest month of the year, but Burton claimed that every time he travelled, six times, God in his faithfulness always held off the rain'.)<sup>231</sup>

Burton records how on one occasion in these early days of pioneering in Ngoimani in 1917, Salter went to preach there and Burton felt 'a real concern'. Shalumbo told Burton that he too felt something was 'gravely wrong' and set off to find Salter. It transpired Salter had fallen ill with blackwater fever; at the time Burton wrote that Salter was 'raised up by the faithful prayer of our beloved black friend Shalumbo'.<sup>232</sup> That Burton and Shalumbo had these concerns impressed upon them would be seen in pentecostal terms as the use of the gift of the Spirit described as a 'word of knowledge'.<sup>233</sup> This was taking place however, before Shalumbo had received his Spirit baptism, which in pentecostal thinking would not be normative.

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<sup>228</sup> Burton, *Man*, 52.

<sup>229</sup> Kazembe, interview, 20/07/2014.

<sup>230</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 47. See appendix eight for a map of the area.

<sup>231</sup> *RFWFPB* 11 (10/07/1917): 1. He does add that he had to travel bare-footed 'through mud and water from a few inches to waist deep'. Salter wrote five years later that Cyril Taylor had 'practically rebuilt' that same house, in *CEMROTW* (31/05/1922): 6.

<sup>232</sup> *RFWFPB* 11 (10/07/1917): 3.

<sup>233</sup> Howard Carter, who incidentally died on the same day as Burton, was one of the first classical Pentecostals to write about such gifts of the Spirit. See: Howard Carter, *Questions and Answers on Spiritual Gifts*, (AOG, Nottingham, 1949), 25-37. Also a recording of Howard Carter speaking on this subject, 'The Move of the Spirit', accessed 02/12/2014, <http://www.brothermel.org/audio-video/113>. Hans Koornstra is a pentecostal Dutch evangelist who once told me that his memory of Howard Carter's teaching on gifts of the Spirit was the highlight of his time at the AOG Bible College at Kenley.

Salter was left ‘terribly weak’; he should have been ‘forbidden to leave his bed for weeks’ but continued, accompanied by ‘old Shalumbo’.<sup>234</sup> Burton, recounting this in 1932, refers to Shalumbo as ‘old Shalumbo’, this could be said to show something of the relationship and trust that was given to him by the white missionaries. On this journey, Shalumbo certainly played the part of the reliable and trustworthy supporter of the missionary cause. Burton continues to write how the ‘faithful old black evangelist’ travelled with an ever-sickening Salter who was ‘looking more like a corpse than a living being’ and looked after him by ‘begging food and a place of rest for the two’.<sup>235</sup> Burton continues: ‘Such an escapade could only end in a fearful breakdown. Fortunately, a white trader found Mr. Salter in a distant village, and sent him back home in a hammock, more dead than alive. By God’s grace the precious life was spared.’<sup>236</sup> Shalumbo is portrayed as ‘begging’ and just about keeping Salter alive until the white trader comes in as Salter’s *deus ex machina*. While Burton did write a biography about Shalumbo, the colonial culture from which he writes does manifest itself in such writing. In *Man*, Burton simply states, ‘if it had not been for Shalumbo’s faithfulness, the white man [Salter] would have died’.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 140.

<sup>235</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 140.

<sup>236</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 140.

<sup>237</sup> Burton, *Man*, 67-69. Shalumbo effectively nursed Salter during this illness. Salter however, rather than return to Mwanza, continued to go on ‘sixty-mile preaching tramp’ and fell ill again this time being found ‘more dead than alive’ by ‘a friendly trader’ who persuaded him to return to Mwanza.

### 5.5.2.1 Shalumbo's Leadership Stands Out

Figure 18

Abraham Nyuki, the first convert, aged 70, standing next to Otaniele Beseka (on his right) and Pierre Lubaba (on his left).<sup>238</sup>

Photo from CEM archives with permission



The initial pioneering from Mwanza into the Ngoimani valley reveals how within the local agency available to Burton, there were discernible measures of effectiveness. Abraham Nyuki was the first Luban convert and the subject of Salter's only book, *Abraham: Our First Congo Convert*.<sup>239</sup> Burton intended for Nyuki to look after the Ngoimani work 'until the arrival of the first resident white missionaries, Messrs Gatzke and Bakker, from South Africa', about whom Burton eventually dismissively wrote they 'did not remain long enough to make any deep impression'.<sup>240</sup> However, Nyuki 'was only a youth' and the people there did 'not give him much respect'.<sup>241</sup> Thus Nyuki was brought back to Mwanza. A 'more successful evangelism [...] was being commenced a few miles away [...] by Shalumbo [...] he soon had a nice group of believers around him, and he acted as a general supervisor of the little groups

<sup>238</sup> Nyuki and Beseka have already been mentioned. Pierre Lubaba was the assistant to Beseka who was President of the pentecostal churches. This information was given by Blandine (Beseka's daughter) via Claude, email to the author, 18/07/2016.

<sup>239</sup> Salter, *Abraham*. Salter also tells the story of Nyuki's conversion, James Salter 'Missionary Convention in Exeter', audio recording, 1955, J.Emmett archives.

<sup>240</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 111. Victor Gatzke was in the CEM from 1917-1919 and C. Bakker during 1918.

<sup>241</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 110.

that were beginning to gather in different parts of the valley over a distance of about twenty miles'.<sup>242</sup> Nyuki did return to Luamba when Gatzke left in 1919, and worked 'under the supervision of Shalumbo' and this experience, according to Salter writing his biography of Nyuki, 'matured him in many ways'.<sup>243</sup> The recording of Shalumbo's help in 'maturing' Nyuki shows Shalumbo's significance to Salter in his only published writing outside of articles for *CEMR*. Shalumbo's impact upon Luamba was such that the current pastor of the church, Mukuba, believes Shalumbo was the founder of the church and reckons Nyuki only came afterwards.<sup>244</sup> Shalumbo worked into the Ngoimani area for two years, evangelising individuals more than he spoke to crowds.<sup>245</sup>

Burton writes of Shalumbo's seminal role, he 'was nothing if not a pioneer'.<sup>246</sup> Shalumbo's import to Burton's emergent mission cascades down to Nyuki's maturation 'under' Shalumbo's guidance. It also flows in Shalumbo's influencing his former slave, Shayoano, with both of these being described together as having a 'steadying influence on the whole work'.<sup>247</sup> Further, it was Shalumbo who through Shayoano saw the conversion of Mudishi, who himself went on 'to preach the gospel so sweetly and simply'.<sup>248</sup> Burton wrote in 1944 that Mudishi 'trained and sent forth' at least fifteen other evangelists into the region.<sup>249</sup> Shalumbo and this protégé were both sorely missed and in a posthumous appreciation of them, Womersley wrote in 1950 that the missionaries, 'tempted' to be despondent, cried 'after the Mudishis, the Shalumbos; mighty giants whose day is done'.<sup>250</sup>

## 5.6 Shalumbo's Return to the Basongye

Burton writes how Shalumbo had a 'strong pull' on his heart to return to the Basongye.<sup>251</sup> He worked hard on producing enough rice to bring his 'tithe to God' and gave the rest to Masele to supply her needs until the end of the dry season. He then told Burton he was going to the Basongye and asked for a pass and the prayers of the missionaries. He obviously went for a

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<sup>242</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 111.

<sup>243</sup> Salter, *Abraham*, 14. Salter adds that Nyuki moved on from Luamba to Kayeye with a 'faithful youth named Masokoty', who, as has been seen, was one of those who told Burton in 1960 he had acted in a colonial way.

<sup>244</sup> Mukuba, interview.

<sup>245</sup> Burton, *Man*, 76. Burton adds that Shalumbo built a house for himself at Kabangi.

<sup>246</sup> Burton, *Man*, 66.

<sup>247</sup> *CEMR* 19 (January-March 1928): 254.

<sup>248</sup> Burton, *Mudishi*, 76.

<sup>249</sup> *PE* 1558 (18/03/1944): 6.

<sup>250</sup> *CEMR* 166 (September 1950): 1841.

<sup>251</sup> Burton, *Man*, 107.

longer time than he intended as the entire dry season only lasts four months but he disappeared for nine months ‘as completely as though he had died’.<sup>252</sup> One can suppose he left around May (1918), the start of the dry season. It is important to note that Burton puts the move to the Basongye as entirely coming from Shalumbo. There is no suggestion at all in Burton’s writing that the move came from Burton himself. Burton had taken very seriously the individual’s own perceptions of being led by the Spirit during his PMU days (being perturbed when the PMU pressurised Johnstone to go to London). He continues to give weight to this here, even when it means losing his ‘pioneer’ from Lubaland.

In *Man*, while Shalumbo receives due credit as the instigator of the Kipushya move, Burton however, disregards the encouragement that Shalumbo received from three Basongye men and two Basongye women. Marcel does record this. He names Tshite Nkasa, Mutamba a Nkasa, and Eshiba dya Mudimbyi as the three men and Mulashi Mutombo and Mbu Kashingu as the two women, who together travelled from Kipushya to Mwanza to encourage Shalumbo to return to Kipushya.<sup>253</sup> They had been informed of Shalumbo’s presence at Mwanza by a Musongye trader visiting Mwanza, named only as Katompā. Shalumbo had told Katompā to tell his family when he returned, “‘your relative Eshiba dia Yamema who was lost long ago, is at Mwanza!’”<sup>254</sup> These Basongye men and women, all relatives of Shalumbo,<sup>255</sup> stayed at Mwanza for around five months.<sup>256</sup>

Marcel records the missionaries as being told that north of Kabongo, the last main Baluba town, the Basongye ‘were very fierce and wicked people’ who ‘did not hesitate to kill foreigners’ and were ‘cannibals with no love for strangers’. To this Marcel adds, ‘That was why they advised him [Shalumbo] to go ahead’.<sup>257</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo however, puts the accent on Burton’s belief in Shalumbo, to whom Burton said, ‘Go yourself, you’re a pastor and you can preach yourself to those who are not worshipping the right god’.<sup>258</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo’s account does seem to coincide more with Burton’s desire to use local agency, rather than a perceived fear of cannibalism. Hettie Burton, in 1923, pointed out that there were over seven

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<sup>252</sup> Burton, *Man*, 108.

<sup>253</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 9.

<sup>254</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 9. Ngoy Shalumbo acts out the story of Shalumbo giving Katompā a box of matches to take back to Kipushya. This was the first time matches were seen at Kipushya. When Katompā lit the first match every one panicked and ran, then Shalumbo’s older brother, Nkasa ya Mema asked Katompā to strike another match, and ‘everyone believed that Shalumbo was alive and well’. Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>255</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011; Mikoso, interview with Claude.

<sup>256</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 9.

<sup>257</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 10.

<sup>258</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

hundred and thirty villages being ‘reached out to for Christ’. She wrote that the Burtons’ desire was therefore to replicate Paul’s statement in Acts 19:10, ‘so that (evidently by means of local Christians), “All Asia” heard the word of God’.<sup>259</sup>

During his time away from Burton, Shalumbo was the sole harbinger of Christianity among the Bekalebwe. Marcel records how he ‘went through all the villages preaching the gospel of the Lord Jesus’ and that people initially ‘thought he was mad’.<sup>260</sup> His message of the gospel, received a derisory nickname, ‘The Song of Shalumbo’.<sup>261</sup> He was willing to be ostracised. Marcel does not put it in print, but Mikoso talks of the unhappiness of the chief, Ndjibu Mabwija, with Shalumbo’s arrival. Mikoso states, ‘Shalumbo’s gospel was a threat to all who were involved in fetishism’.<sup>262</sup> The threat was exacerbated as Shalumbo took on an iconoclastic role towards what Burton also referred to as fetishism. Shalumbo’s pre-pentecostal groundbreaking evangelistic campaign in his home territory intentionally sought to disempower ‘the sorcerers’.<sup>263</sup>

Shalumbo’s Manichean view of fetishism (which Burton also clearly saw as diabolical<sup>264</sup>) juxtaposed next to the gospel led to an iconoclastic approach. This is reflected in Ngoy Shalumbo’s description of his father arriving at Kipushya and sitting defiantly on drums associated with the practice of fetishism.<sup>265</sup> At that time in Mpembwe,<sup>266</sup> according to Ngoy Shalumbo, a statue about a metre high had been placed at the entrance to the village. Human blood was regularly thrown in front of it, and people feared the statue and were afraid of leaving the village to go and fetch water from the river. Upon arriving from Mwanza, Shalumbo knocked the statue down and walked all over it declaring, ‘Only God is powerful, worship the true God’. On another occasion, he sat on a statue and started laughing. People

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<sup>259</sup> CEMR 2 (October-December 1923): 6-7. Emphasis mine.

<sup>260</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 10.

<sup>261</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011; Marcel, *Muwa*, 10.

<sup>262</sup> Mikoso, interview with Claude.

<sup>263</sup> This is Burton’s frequently used term in *Man*.

<sup>264</sup> For example, in 1925 when Burton came across a *butanda* ceremony. This is a ceremony to mark a girl leaving childhood; it involves, amongst other things the girl lying on a mat for twenty-four hours and eating the heart of a bird, which is seen as her imbibing the heart of woman, while men drum and drink beer. Burton explains the full process in much detail in *Luba Religion*, 151-153. Upon seeing this Burton was shocked at the ‘drummers streaming with perspiration and beer’ and ‘the almost nude women’ engaging in ‘the most foul, sensuous, wriggling dance, singing and chanting unnameable filth’, Burton responded by sitting on ‘the big drum, to prevent the drummer from silencing me’ and went on to spend over an hour ‘preaching Christ to them’. See: Burton, letter to Myerscough, 01/06/1925.

<sup>265</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview. This will be examined later below.

<sup>266</sup> A village just a few miles from Kipushya.



were terrified at what he had done and thought he would die, but, Ngoy Shalumbo states he preached the gospel and healed the sick.<sup>267</sup> Marcel records Shalumbo's effectiveness at this time by writing how 'those who believed brought out huge piles of charms and idols to be burned' and that this was 'a testimony to everyone that SHALUMBO'S GOD WAS MORE POWERFUL THAN ANY OF THEIR FETISHES'.<sup>268</sup> Further, Mikoso tells how Shalumbo lived on a plateau not far from Kipushya, which was named Katenta (the Kisongye word for plateau). Mikoso adds that in the village of Bantamba, just a few kilometres away, 'the gospel was favourably welcomed'.<sup>269</sup>

### 5.7 Back to Mwanza

Marcel writes how Shalumbo asked some of his new converts to accompany him on a journey back to Mwanza 'to testify of what God had done in raising up a work among them'.<sup>270</sup> Marcel lists the names of some of those who agreed to travel with him back to Mwanza; the first in his list is Pita Mbele.<sup>271</sup> Mbele's ensuing history shows something of the calibre of Shalumbo's Basongye converts. Mbele went on to be taught Kiluba by Burton, becoming his 'house-boy' before becoming a superintendent in 'the Kipushya section' of the work.<sup>272</sup> Mbele then went on to work at Katea and was the only Congolese ever to be listed alongside missionaries as heading up a station, replacing John and Ruth Emmett when they went on furlough in 1953.<sup>273</sup> (John and Ruth Emmett are reported in 1980 as being critical of missionaries who viewed 'the station' as their own.<sup>274</sup> John Emmett had been present at a CEM conference in 1954 when Alfred Brown, a CEM missionary since 1934, manifested such an attitude balking at the idea of changing mission stations with Don Gordon, saying, 'I

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<sup>267</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview. This is in direct contrast to an understanding of history at the start of the twentieth century that sometimes records it in the way Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu perceives it, seeing 'Western missions' as 'powerless' with regard to their efficacy in dealing with 'supernatural evil, especially witchcraft'. Burton and Shalumbo would have both approved of his stating, 'In Africa, successful Christian ministry [...] is impossible unless one takes into account the supernatural evil implied in the word "witchcraft"'; see: J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Witchcraft Accusations and Christianity in Africa' in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 39:1 (January 2015): 23–27.

<sup>268</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 10. Emphasis his.

<sup>269</sup> Mikoso, interview with Claude.

<sup>270</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 11.

<sup>271</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 11. The others listed are Mukiendji Kilashi, Malala Lupongie, Kapenga Elaishi and Nkolomonyi Kalote.

<sup>272</sup> *CEMR* 30 (October-December 1930): 455.

<sup>273</sup> *CEMR* 198 (May 1953) - *CEMR* 211 (June 1954) inclusive. The Emmett names replaced his upon their return in the July 1954 edition of *CEMR*. No other Congolese name has ever been listed alongside the missionaries.

<sup>274</sup> Garrard, 'History,' 68, n.49.

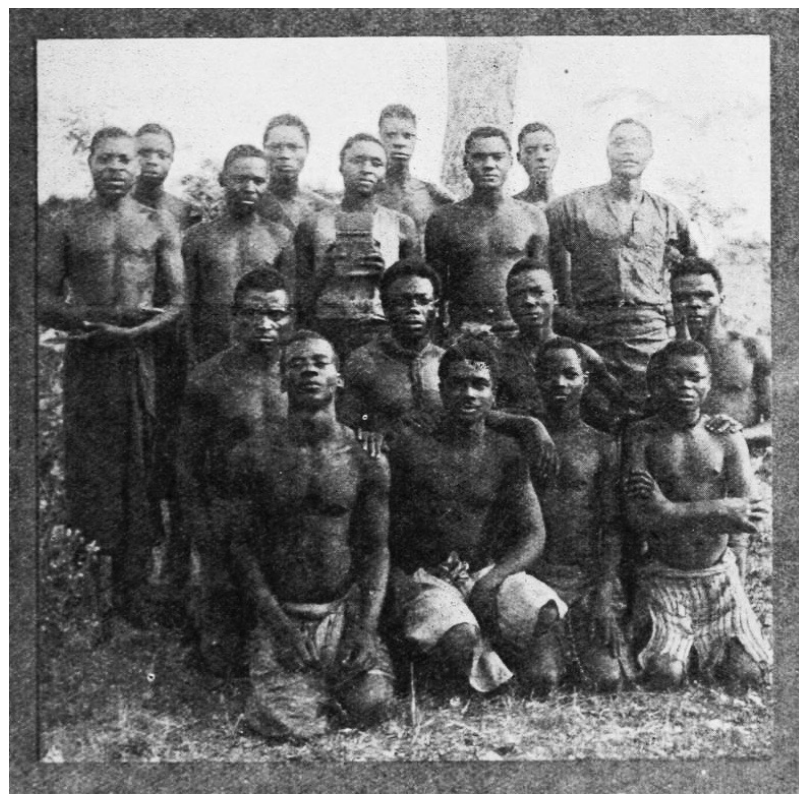
would like to know in the future I have something that I can put my finger on and call my own'.<sup>275</sup>)

Burton writes in *Man* of Shalumbo returning accompanied by 34 of 'his villagers' and surprisingly adds, 'Not one of these was actually saved, but they had come to enquire, and there was no doubt as to their earnestness'.<sup>276</sup> This report contrasts with the accounts given above by Ngoy Shalumbo and Marcel who both view Shalumbo's work as resulting in immediate conversions. Burton himself in a report in April 1919 writes of Shalumbo's return with the 34 and adds 'five had definitely accepted Christ and the others were enquirers'.<sup>277</sup>

Figure 19

Seventeen of the 34 Bekalebwe who returned to Mwanza with Shalumbo, 1919

Photo taken from *Missionary Pioneering*



BEKALEBWE WHO HAVE COME FIFTEEN DAYS' JOURNEY TO HEAR MORE OF THE GOSPEL, AND TO ASK FOR A MISSIONARY.

<sup>275</sup> General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, No.25 (10-16/08/1954).

<sup>276</sup> Burton, *Man*, 108.

<sup>277</sup> *RFWFPB* 3 (13/04/1919). Emphasis mine. Seventeen of these men are pictured in *Missionary Pioneering*, 147. It will be seen later that Burton writes of exactly the same number returning to Mwanza with him after his own visit to Mpembwe in September 1919.

Further, Burton in September 1919 writes that regular prayer meetings were taking place in the village of Kabwe, very near to Kipushya, ‘since the visit of our evangelist Shalumbo, a little over a year ago’.<sup>278</sup> Brown wrote in 1956 that Shalumbo had returned to Mwanza to request a missionary, as ‘so great was the response to his message’.<sup>279</sup>

Was Burton more hesitant to call someone ‘saved’ in 1929? As has been seen above, he certainly had slowed down in his speed of baptising in water those who had made decisions. Or was Burton simply getting his facts wrong in recording this history? Burton did make mistakes with dates, so, although it seems unlikely, it is not inconceivable that he made other mistakes in his recording of history. Or, was Burton underplaying the role played by Shalumbo? It must be remembered Shalumbo had not yet received his Spirit baptism.

### 5.8 Shalumbo and Masele Return to Kipushya with the Burtons

Burton writes in *Man* that in September 1920 both he and Hettie made the journey to ‘Shalumbo’s home’.<sup>280</sup> Burton writing in 1946, giving ‘A Brief History of Thirty years of the Congo Evangelistic Mission’ writes this was in September 1919,<sup>281</sup> agreeing here with both Marcel’s date and his own journal reproduced in *Missionary Pioneering*.<sup>282</sup> Burton, as with his own conversion narrative, shows himself capable of mixing up his dates after the time. As a cartographer, he took with him ‘a prismatic compass; so that he could ‘triangulate where possible to keep an accurate record of villages and paths’; he saw ‘something infectious about Congo travel’.<sup>283</sup> It should be noted Burton was being carried in a hammock and also read his Bible while travelling. On day two of the journey, after a 5am start, his hammock carriers accidentally (one assumes) dipped him in a stream in the semi darkness.<sup>284</sup> Shalumbo would have been walking the whole time, as he had done before. Masele too would have been on foot and, like the Burtons, would be venturing into new territory, but unlike the Burtons would presumably not be carried any part of the 344 miles.<sup>285</sup> Burton’s narrative focuses in on his own wife, recording that in the villages and towns they passed through Hettie was ‘the

<sup>278</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 185.

<sup>279</sup> CEMR 8 (May 1956): 3198.

<sup>280</sup> Burton, *Man*, 109. Shalumbo would have returned to Mwanza about the end of February 1919.

<sup>281</sup> CEMR 116 (January-February 1946): 1.

<sup>282</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 11; Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 160.

<sup>283</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 160-161. He located ‘some 300 native towns and villages’ on the way, see: 183. See also appendices six and seven for Burton’s cartographical skill.

<sup>284</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 162-163.

<sup>285</sup> CEMR 8 (May 1956): 3198. This is the distance given here by Alfred Brown.

first white woman upon whom they had set their eyes'.<sup>286</sup> Moreover, in many villages 'the natives had never seen a white face'.<sup>287</sup> Burton does not mention Masele.

Both Burton and Shalumbo commonly practised preaching and healing in the villages *en route*. In one village, on an overnight stop, Shalumbo prayed for a girl with a twisted neck and she had a straight neck by the morning.<sup>288</sup> Further, Burton saw himself and Hettie as demonstrating something emancipatory in the way that Burton elevated Hettie beyond the level of the 'poor, down-trodden, despised, beaten, degraded native woman - whose very name is a synonym for weakness and shame, and who is bought or sold as a sheep or goat'. He reckoned he did this by eating with Hettie, walking beside her and would 'even get up to allow her to sit down'.<sup>289</sup> Such writing from Burton demonstrates his failure to understand the male domination he was exhibiting with his attitude towards women not having authoritative roles within the church communities he was overseeing.

On these travels the Burtons took a tent with them. In thunderstorms it seems apparent that those travelling with them would shelter in the tent together.<sup>290</sup> The sense of togetherness would have broken down four nights later when the Burtons accepted hospitality from the Belgian administrator of the state poste of Kabongo,<sup>291</sup> and Shalumbo, Masele and the carriers once again become 'the others' in the Burton record.

Burton met the Kabongo chief and asked him to call a meeting; the chief obliged and over three hundred came. Shalumbo would have witnessed Burton's confronting the chief publically as he then refused to start the service until the chief removed his hat, insisting that 'King Jesus and not King Kabongo was given supreme place'. The chief initially refused and but eventually did this.<sup>292</sup> One supposes that Shalumbo, as 'our evangelist' would have been visibly associated with Burton in this, and imbibed Burton's approach.

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<sup>286</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 70.

<sup>287</sup> Burton, *Man*, 109.

<sup>288</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 164.

<sup>289</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 180-181.

<sup>290</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 165. The storm reported here meant they had a 'severe two hours'. September is the end of the dry season and the start of the wet season; the heat before a storm can feel very oppressive. The area has more lightning strikes than anywhere else in the world. See: 'World Lightning Map', accessed 24/06/2016, <http://geology.com/articles/lightning-map.shtml>.

<sup>291</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 169.

<sup>292</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 170.

According to Marcel, around fifty porters accompanied the Burtons on this journey from Mwanza to Shalumbo's home.<sup>293</sup> These porters expressed the kind of fears over cannibalism that Marcel had implied the missionaries had when first authorising Shalumbo to go on his own. Burton refers to coming within thirty miles of the 'famous cannibal chiefs of Twite Munza and Twite Kabombwe' whom he describes as 'outlaws' because of their non-compliance in tax payments to the Belgians.<sup>294</sup> There is no record of Shalumbo's earlier journey made alone. Burton writes in *Man* how, 'Several times they came into close contact with cannibalism, and once the Mwanza carriers found parts of a human body cut up, and hanging in a hut'.<sup>295</sup> Burton writes in *God Working* that he found this 'hard to believe' until it was 'admitted frankly that they ate strangers whom they could knock on the head'.<sup>296</sup> There is once again a possible discrepancy here in Burton finding it 'hard to believe' in one account and writing that there was close contact with cannibalism 'several times' in the other. There are no other details ever given apart from that one occasion of human parts hanging in a hut, and in neither account does Burton claim to have seen the body parts himself. By 1956 the evolution of the narrative is such that Brown writes, 'Repeatedly in the villages through which they passed they found human meat, and sometimes the carriers were too terrified to sleep in the villages'.<sup>297</sup>

At the Lomami, at what was almost certainly Epamba, the place where Shalumbo's father had lived, Burton pragmatically 'managed to secure two hippopotami for the chief "Bwana Tshofwe"' who had a 'lust for hippo';<sup>298</sup> this was the chief Mabwija, the sub-chief of Lumpungu in Kabinda.<sup>299</sup> Given Mabwija's previously mentioned opposition to Shalumbo's gospel, one can only speculate as to the extent of Shalumbo's influence on Burton's decision to give such a large gift to him. Shalumbo would surely have warned Burton about Mabwija's antagonism.<sup>300</sup> Burton's understanding the need to honour Congolese chiefs is recurrent throughout his life, his evangelistic ideal involved seeing the chief of a village saved, or, at least, favourable to the Christians. His honouring of chiefs was in spite of their

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<sup>293</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 11.

<sup>294</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 166.

<sup>295</sup> Burton, *Man*, 109.

<sup>296</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 72.

<sup>297</sup> *CEMR* 8 (May 1956): 3198.

<sup>298</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 72. I say 'almost certainly' as Burton describes waterfalls and lagoons; I know these can be found in the vicinity of Epamba.

<sup>299</sup> Bwana Tshofwe and Ndjibu Mabwija are titles referring to the same chief, as in Marcel, *Muwa*, 11.

<sup>300</sup> Burton viewed Mabwija as 'not of a particularly intelligent type, and eaten up with pride and brutality'; Burton described his nephew as being the one who 'held the reins of influence'. See: Burton, *God Working*, 74.

recurrent association with witchcraft, which he detested so much. It is not possible to measure the impact of the gift, but in *God Working* Mabwija's nephew did speak with Burton on behalf of the people asking that a missionary be sent.<sup>301</sup> In *Man*, Burton reports Mabwija, not his nephew as saying this, again showing Burton's contradicting his own earlier writings.<sup>302</sup>

### 5.8.1 At Bwana Tshofwe (Kipushya)<sup>303</sup>

After 'fifteen days' hard tramp', the party arrived at their destination on Friday 27<sup>th</sup> September 1919.<sup>304</sup> Burton only spent three days in the 'great village of Bwana Tshofwe'.<sup>305</sup> Marcel wrongly reports this as three weeks.<sup>306</sup> On the first night Burton preached to the biggest crowd he had ever preached to, between five hundred and fifty and six hundred 'headed by the chief and his elders'. Shalumbo and Burton did not limit themselves to Bwana Tshofwe, but also moved around together. The next day they walked eight miles together to Tchiungu, which at the time was the largest village in the area with a population of three thousand. Here, two 'Roman Catholic lads' from Kabinda did 'their best to be impudent and upset the meeting'. The chief had them 'turned out of the village for their rudeness, and apologised to my evangelist Shalumbo saying that they were strangers'.<sup>307</sup> Burton's writing expresses the value he placed upon Shalumbo by calling him 'my evangelist'; there is even a head and shoulders photograph of Shalumbo in *Missionary*, shown in figure 15 at the start of this chapter where Burton bestows a title on him: 'EVANGELIST SHALUMBO'.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 74.

<sup>302</sup> Burton, *Man*, 110. One suspects some of Burton's apparent approach towards Belgian colonials and even flattering of King Leopold, might have resulted from corresponding pragmatism. Burton writes a three page article in *CEMR*, but goes into much smaller print to write about 'that great and far seeing King Leopold'; see: *CEMR* 147 (February 1949): 1446-1447.

<sup>303</sup> Burton, *Man*, 110, 126. Burton refers to the great village of Bwana Tshofwe, 110, and then to Kipushya the 'headquarters of the Bwana Tshofwe', 126. Burton writes about Kipushya village being three miles away from Shalumbo's old home. This bolsters Ngoy Shalumbo's point made earlier that several villages came to be referred to as Kipushya. He sometimes refers to it as Mwana Tshofwe, but Claude states Bwana Tshofwe would be correct, I have corrected it to Bwana each time Burton wrote Mwana Tshofwe. Claude, email message to author, 27/06/2016.

<sup>304</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 182.

<sup>305</sup> Burton, *Man*, 110.

<sup>306</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, 12.

<sup>307</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 183-184.

<sup>308</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 145.

Crawford, a few years later, seemed to have a more exceptional assessment on Shalumbo's ministry referring to Shalumbo's apostleship.<sup>309</sup>

Upon their return to Bwana Tshofwe, having walked sixteen miles, another 'big meeting' was held in the afternoon.<sup>310</sup> One has to assume that Hettie was not involved much in all that Burton and Shalumbo were doing together during this stay. Burton writes about this time that Hettie 'had been terribly bitten by tsetse fly [...] so that her limbs were swollen [...] the native women flocked to her tent to talk with her, while Mr Burton went farther afield accompanied by old Shalumbo'.<sup>311</sup> There are no reports of what Masele was doing, so one can only speculate that she was with the 'native women' talking with Hettie in the Burtons' tent. Her relationship with Hettie can be assumed to have been cordial, given Hettie's reminiscing in 1940 about her early days at Mwanza:

Many a trip I took to the villages in company with my dear Angolan sisters. What a help they were to me as I prepared my first faltering gospel talks. During school holidays we made long trips to far-away districts, preaching as we went.<sup>312</sup>

In 1962 Burton's published handwritten Bible notes include a page on 'Women's Ministry'. There is scope in interpreting the Bible for women to preach and teach as Hettie must have done on such occasions, but the sphere of the woman is defined as 'Care of home & children and works of hospitality & benevolence'. Further, he writes, 'where a woman rules it is a sign of weakness in the church' citing Isaiah 3:12.<sup>313</sup> It is not surprising, given such an attitude, that Burton writes nothing of Masele's part in the trip.

### 5.8.2 Playing Down Shalumbo's Initial Success

There remains a mystery as to why Burton wrote that those who came down to Mwanza after Shalumbo's opening campaign were not reported as being saved. In 1925 Burton wrote for *CEMR* choosing to depreciate the impact of Shalumbo's earlier efforts. He describes how on this September 1919 visit, once at 'Shalumbo's home [...] we were often sung to sleep by filthy heathen chants, and sometimes could not sleep at all, on account of the drumming and

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<sup>309</sup> *CEMR* 5 (July-September 1924): 42-43. Pentecostals would see apostles as coming before evangelists in the biblical passage Eph 4:11 and also the verse that explicitly states their order as being first in 1 Cor 12:28; I am not endorsing such a hierarchical reading, simply stating that is how many Pentecostals would read it.

<sup>310</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 184.

<sup>311</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 73.

<sup>312</sup> *CEMR* 85 (November-December 1940): 566.

<sup>313</sup> Burton, *Bible Notes*, No.43. Burton, W.F.P. 'Bible Notes' Johannesburg: D. Fischer, 1962.

dancing accompanying the foul ceremonies that continue all night'. Contrastingly, by the end of the stay however, when they were ready to leave, 'we were literally besieged by people begging us to "stop and pray for my sick mother. They are just bringing her up the hill."' "Wait Bwana till I make a fire and burn my charms, for I want Jesus." "Please Mandamo put your hand on my head, and pray for me before you go," - and so on'.<sup>314</sup> Shalumbo too had had people burning their charms and had prayed for the sick during his earlier nine months there. While in *Man* Burton acknowledges Shalumbo 'had already made a profound impression on the neighbourhood, by laying hands upon the sick and praying for them in the Name of the Lord Jesus, as well as by his simple, earnest testimony',<sup>315</sup> the reporting nevertheless still tends to give the impression that the Burtons played the foremost role in bringing the gospel to the district.

By 1925 Burton attributed the subsequent on-going growth of the work among the Basongye as 'a splendid testimony to the industry and devotion of our missionaries'.<sup>316</sup> By 1956, the writing of history by missionaries with their focus on foreign origins cried out for Marcel's coming biography to supplement their narrative. For instance, Brown wrote quoting Elvyn Lee, Kipushya missionary at the time as saying: "The longer one lives at Kipushya, the more one feels he owes a debt to the first pioneers, and we take off our hats to Brother and the late Sister Johnstone for the good foundation they laid during those hard and trying years.'" Brown then unappreciatively adds, 'Shalumbo greatly helped in the beginnings'.<sup>317</sup>

### 5.8.3 Leaving for Mwanza

On 30<sup>th</sup> September, the day of the departure for Mwanza, once again, from 3.30 in the morning, crowds of sick were waiting for prayer,<sup>318</sup> and others waiting to burn their charms, 'as they had decided to trust in the Lord Jesus at all costs'. This lasted for two hours.<sup>319</sup> In addition to the queue of sick people waiting for prayer were two men 'desiring to accept salvation in Christ. One of these had a big packet of gourds, nut shells, horns and grass cloth packets, filled with charms and magic which he had brought to burn'.<sup>320</sup> Many requested that they should stay and not return to Mwanza. Burton described the district as 'perhaps the **most**

<sup>314</sup> CEMR 7 (January-March 1925): 62.

<sup>315</sup> Burton, *Man*, 110-111.

<sup>316</sup> CEMR 7 (January-March 1925): 63-64.

<sup>317</sup> CEMR 234 (May 1956): 3198.

<sup>318</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 185.

<sup>319</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 75.

<sup>320</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 184.



promising for reaching large masses of eager, hungry people within a comparatively small area that I have seen'.<sup>321</sup>

Burton left Bwana Tshofwe with women 'singing and shouting final greetings for miles along the road'<sup>322</sup> and, as he was being carried in his hammock, reading Isaiah, 'The people that walk in darkness have seen a great light'. He wrote in his journal, 'Truly, after 19 centuries of darkness, at last the blessed light of Jesus is breaking through on the subjects of Bwana Tshofwe'.<sup>323</sup> When not reading his Bible, Burton continued to be 'busy throughout the trip' making maps with his prismatic compass. They returned to Mwanza by a different route and continued to 'map as much as possible of the country' all the time seeking out the 'the biggest villages and most healthy sites' thinking of possible future mission stations.<sup>324</sup> Burton's forward thinking here demonstrates his belief that other missionaries would come. This was around a time when he felt the opportunities were greater than the available missionary personnel. Shalumbo with his vision and drive for the Basongye people had caused Burton's felt need for missionaries to intensify. The Burtons and Shalumbo and Masele arrived back at Mwanza eighteen days after having set off from Bwana Tshofwe.<sup>325</sup>

### 5.9 Burton's Perceived Need for Spirit-filled Agency

Upon their return Burton wrote to Myerscough saying how he had found 'our beloved Jimmy very weak with fever [...] I feel he should get back into loving Lancashire hands and sniff the wholesome Lancashire breezes, and have a long rest'.<sup>326</sup> Shalumbo had been working alongside Burton and not Salter. It would be too much to interpret this as meaning Burton thus felt he could relieve Salter of working in Congo for a 'long rest'. Nevertheless, unequivocally, there must have been a closer relationship with Shalumbo after this journey, which had lasted from 6<sup>th</sup> September to 18<sup>th</sup> October. Burton still wanted missionaries when

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<sup>321</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 184. Emphasis his. Suspicion over Burton's reporting around this time is further increased when Burton in *God Working*, gives 'thirty-five Bekalebwe', returning to Mwanza with Shalumbo and himself. See: Burton, *God Working*, 75. Burton had reported Shalumbo making his earlier journey 'accompanied by thirty-four of his villagers' (thus making 35) returning from Kipushya to Mwanza in *Man* and in *Missionary Pioneering*. See: Burton, *Man*, 108; *Missionary Pioneering*, 140. The same number is possibly true and a coincidence, but the other inconsistencies raise the level of hesitation over Burton's recalling of all the details.

<sup>322</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 75.

<sup>323</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 185.

<sup>324</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 76. See appendix ten for the different routes taken to Kipushya and back to Mwanza.

<sup>325</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 197.

<sup>326</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 11/10/1919. Clearly the date of this letter must have been later than the eleventh of October as Burton in his journal gives the date of his return to Mwanza as the eighteenth of October.

he wrote to Salter in Lancashire less than three months later, 'it will be well for you and & all other recruits to come out as soon as possible [...] at present we have all we can do to satisfactorily keep Mwanza going with an occasional visit to the outstations'.<sup>327</sup>

There really is ambiguity about the extent to which Burton was ready to entrust 'native workers' with the running of new centres. Throughout Burton's reporting on this journey with Shalumbo, there is a constant strain between showing the efficacy of the white missionaries and the desire to portray Shalumbo in a good light as an exemplar of a Congolese convert. Shalumbo, in pentecostal terms, shared a major deficiency with the rest of the converts. He had not yet received his baptism in the Spirit. Upon his return from this joint venture with the Burtons, both he and Masele were also hearing fellow preachers such as Shakayobo whom Burton reported as being prominent in those who were 'taking a definite stand against divine healing and baptism in the Holy Spirit'.<sup>328</sup> Writing shortly after this venture with Shalumbo, Burton spelled out his dream of 'Spirit-filled assemblies of baptised believers in every village honouring and showing forth the Lord's death and winning their brethren for Jesus. With Bibles as common in the land as fetishes are now. That is my prayer and expectation'.<sup>329</sup> When writing this, Burton understood there were no Congolese Spirit-filled believers.

### 5.9.1 The Effects of Shalumbo's Spirit Baptism

Shalumbo's arrival was reported in October 1916.<sup>330</sup> Less than a year later, Burton was writing about 'our two beloved and faithful black brothers Shakayobo and Shalumbo, with their two wives, Napaula and Masele [...] They are never weary in the work [...] Their lives, their love, their prayers, and their faithfulness are exemplary.' There was still something needed, Burton, the pentecostal firebrand, adds, 'We praise God indeed for these black co-workers, and trust that they may soon meet their fullest desire, in being filled with the Holy Spirit'.<sup>331</sup> Burton's writing camouflages that these two would not have judged Spirit baptism as their 'fullest desire', not at least till nearly two and half years later. Kazembe still narrates the freed slaves' hostility to baptism in the Spirit and their view on speaking in tongues as

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<sup>327</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 18/12/1919.

<sup>328</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 18/12/1919.

<sup>329</sup> Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*, 154. This was written on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1919, two weeks after Burton and Shalumbo had arrived back at Mwanza.

<sup>330</sup> *RFWFPB* 8 (17/10/1916).

<sup>331</sup> *RFWFPB* 11 (10/07/1917): 7.

demonic and Burton's constant angry reaction to this.<sup>332</sup> Shortly after the return from Bwana Tshofwe, Burton spent a week with all the 'native evangelists' and was appreciative of 'their advice and ministry' and noted that while some were 'getting more hungry', nevertheless 'not one was filled with the Spirit of God'.<sup>333</sup>

When publishing the Shalumbo narrative in 1929, Burton decides that 'The Luban Pentecost' (outlined in the last chapter), the 'time of visitation' is 'too sacred' a time about which 'to write much'.<sup>334</sup> This is in sharp contrast to the accounts given in 1920 of glossolalia, xenolalia and physical manifestations.<sup>335</sup> A rumour had spread around the villages that 'Bwana Burton preaches till he has his hearers under his spell, and he touches them, whereupon they tremble, fall down, turn to God and speak foreign languages'.<sup>336</sup> Writing for the *PE* in 1920, he describes how many 'were prostrated and there were very few who were not crying, praying, shaking or quaking' and adds that 'one young man was heard speaking in perfect English'.<sup>337</sup> The physical signs of the Luban Pentecost were still continuing three months later. Shalumbo would almost certainly have been present when Burton described the on-going situation:

the morning's meeting ends like a battle field, with the slain of the Lord all over the floor, crying for blessing [...] we begin to get steady again, and of course, everyone wishes to know "what is this all about," and I have to explain that "THIS IS THAT.""<sup>338</sup>

Contrastingly, writing in 1929 in *Man*, Burton does not mention speaking in tongues at all. Burton simply focuses on Shalumbo's character change as a result of his Spirit baptism. Admittedly, in 1920 he did briefly describe an unnamed 'old man' who 'always took a front seat', but since his Spirit baptism now always sat at the back and even volunteered to get the mud and slime out of the baptismal pool.<sup>339</sup> In *Man* however, character improvement is the sole consequential focus of Spirit baptism. Burton again describes how Shalumbo sat at the back and showed people to their seats and kept the children quiet. He also describes how Shalumbo decided to take off his boots (abnormal for any Congolese to wear in that milieu at

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<sup>332</sup> Kazembe, interview. Kazembe raises his voice when he says Burton was angry.

<sup>333</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 11/10/1919. The date of this letter must have been later if the journals in *Missionary Pioneering* have the correct dates, as Burton only returned to Mwanza on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1919.

<sup>334</sup> Burton, *Man*, 64.

<sup>335</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (19/01/1920).

<sup>336</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (19/01/1920): 7.

<sup>337</sup> *PE* 36/37 (19/04/1920): 11.

<sup>338</sup> *RFWFPB* (March 1920): 3. Emphasis his.

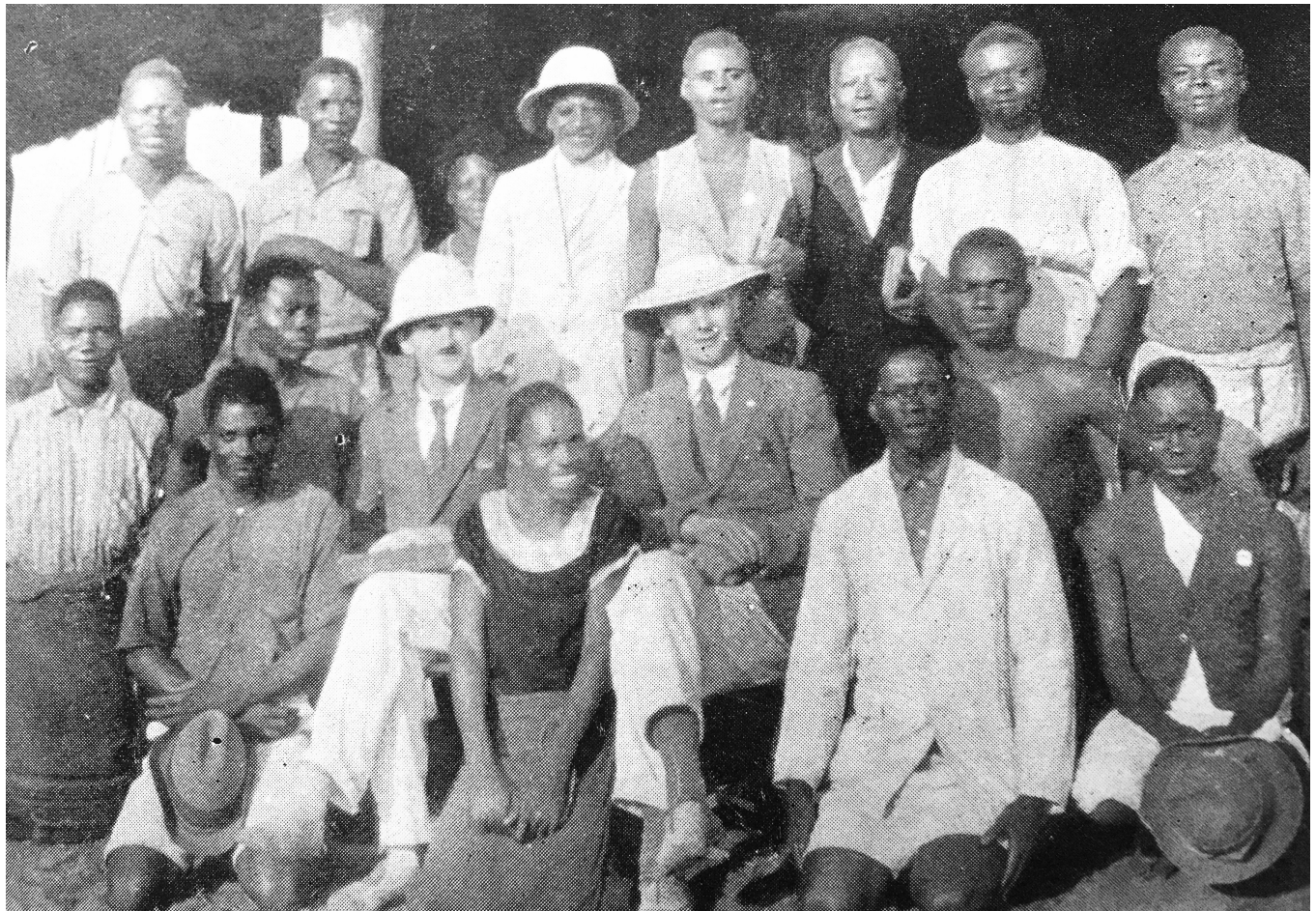
<sup>339</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (19/01/1920): 4.

that time) so that he could be ‘all things to all men’, reporting Shalumbo as saying along Pauline-esque lines, ‘To the bare-footed native, I will be a bare-footed native, that I may gain the bare-footed native, for I want by all means to save some’. Burton describes how ‘tears came freely to his eyes as he wept for sinners’ and how Shalumbo ‘now delighted to submit himself to the counsels and advice of his fellow-Christians so that there was no easier man with whom to work, in all the mission.’<sup>340</sup>

Figure 20

Shalumbo dresses equal to the missionaries, c.1929

Picture taken from *Man*



As admirable as that sounds, a picture of Shalumbo in *Man* shows him with Johnstone and Mullan. The latter are described as being with ‘their native evangelists’; all fourteen are

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<sup>340</sup> Burton, *Man*, 64-65.

simply dressed, apart from Shalumbo, who is wearing a white suit and a pith helmet, the latter being identical to the one Johnstone is wearing in the photo.<sup>341</sup>

Writing in 1929, Burton had enough time to have seen character changes develop in Shalumbo; he was no longer in the initial fortnight's euphoria of seeing his prolonged praying for the Spirit to be 'poured out upon Luba-land' answered (as was the case in January 1920). This 1920 newsletter was written a fortnight after the pouring out of the Spirit. Burton's exhilaration in seeing the pentecostal ideal realised is evident in his opening sentence: 'My heart is so full of praise I scarcely know where to commence, in telling you of the great blessings of the last fortnight'.<sup>342</sup> Nine years on, and writing, as has been seen above, under great personal pressure, Burton's reporting to have 'no easier man with whom to work' seems more important to him and the mission than seeing Shalumbo collapse and speak in tongues. Albeit still exulting in the 'Luban Pentecost', Burton is conceivably maturing in his own form of Pentecostalism, and appearing to be moving away from the classical pentecostal, reductionist reporting of baptism in the Spirit as only glossolalia<sup>343</sup> to a more holistic understanding.<sup>344</sup> Burton did still hold to and publish in 1962 that he saw speaking in tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism, yet immediately juxtaposed 'and manifesting the fruits of the Spirit Gal.5.22'.<sup>345</sup>

### 5.9.1.2 Healing

With regards to the especially pentecostal trait of divine healing,<sup>346</sup> Burton writes how Shalumbo, who had already prayed for many to be healed, had 'quite a new revelation'<sup>347</sup> about physical healing, not at the time of his Spirit baptism, but later when his own son who had been born on the journey from Angola to Mwanza was dying. Shalumbo called for Burton. By the time Burton reached Shalumbo's house, the boy had either died, or very

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<sup>341</sup> Burton, *Man*, 104-105.

<sup>342</sup> *RFWFPB* 17 (19/01/1920): 1.

<sup>343</sup> Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 16-17.

<sup>344</sup> This was something A.A. Boddy, while still referring to tongues as initial evidence, had encouraged to some extent twenty years earlier: see: A.A. Boddy 'Seven Hall-Marks of Heaven upon the Pentecostal Baptism with the Sign of Tongues', in *Confidence*, 2:8 (August 1909): 180-183. In this article, while not focusing on character as Burton does, Boddy talks of the effect of baptism in the Spirit has upon such areas as prayer, Bible reading, attitude to the atonement and 'missions to the heathen'. Earlier in the same year Boddy had stated 'for me Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the sign of "Tongues" [...] With the sign of Tongues has always come something from God, and generally a great gift of Love, as one would expect'. See: *Confidence*, 2:2 (February 1909): 33.

<sup>345</sup> Burton, *Bible Notes*, No.48. Emphasis mine.

<sup>346</sup> Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 115.

<sup>347</sup> Burton, *Man*, 75.

nearly died. Shalumbo was clear he had died. Burton states it was ‘impossible to tell’ as the house was full of mourners.<sup>348</sup> Rather than pray for comfort for the bereaved, Burton ‘was carried by a power beyond himself, and cried, “Oh God, in Jesus’ name, raise up little Fidipu [Philippe].”’ Shalumbo after initially telling Burton it was too late to pray, then joined with Burton in praying ‘for the raising up of the little lad from the dead’. Then ‘the mourning ceased, and exclamations of joy took place. Fidipu had opened his eyes’. Burton writes, ‘whatever had taken place, at least one thing is sure - in two days Fidipu was playing as usual with the other children’.<sup>349</sup>

Burton is unequivocal in stating that ‘from that time onward he [Shalumbo] constantly placed his hands upon the sick and afflicted, asking God to heal them in the name of the Lord Jesus’.<sup>350</sup> Burton, on behalf of the missionaries, seems to be implicated in pentecostal grandstanding in attributing Shalumbo’s praying for the sick to this incident, as remarkable as it was. Burton knew that, and reported that Shalumbo had prayed for the sick making a ‘profound impression’ on his first visit to Bwana Tshofwe without Burton, and without having experienced Spirit baptism.<sup>351</sup> Yet Shalumbo, who had believed tongues was demonic, was increasingly being pentecostalised through Burton’s influence. Burton describes Shalumbo’s subsequent experience, which was akin to Burton’s, stating whenever Shalumbo received a ‘cold or even a hostile reception’, healing would ‘turn the whole situation in his favour’.<sup>352</sup>

### **5.9.1.3 Effectiveness of Shalumbo in the Ngoimani Valley**

Shalumbo built a house in the Ngoimani valley at Kabangi, three miles away from Luamba and was based there for at least two further years after his Spirit baptism.<sup>353</sup> Again, Burton describes Shalumbo’s work in glowing terms, writing in 1929, that there were thirty churches ‘and several of the finest workers are Shalumbo’s own converts’.<sup>354</sup> This tribute was given

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<sup>348</sup> Burton, *Man*, 74.

<sup>349</sup> Burton, *Man*, 75.

<sup>350</sup> Burton, *Man*, 75.

<sup>351</sup> Burton, *Man*, 110-111.

<sup>352</sup> Burton, *Man*, 75.

<sup>353</sup> CEMR 20 (April-June 1928): 267. This is Cyril Taylor reminiscing over the years 1920-1928.

<sup>354</sup> Burton, *Man*, 76.

when Burton had ‘over 200 evangelists’.<sup>355</sup> Burton unequivocally states that Shalumbo’s pioneering work was ‘taken over later by the white missionaries’.<sup>356</sup>

#### 5.9.1.4 Shalumbo’s Miraculous Ministry

Burton describes Shalumbo as still being dependent on the missionaries. Contracting yaws usually meant being isolated from any community and living in a hut in the forest.<sup>357</sup> About three and a half per cent of the population suffered with yaws. When Shalumbo’s son contracted it, Shalumbo returned to Mwanza in ‘a terrible state of anxiety’, and had ‘to be encouraged in prayer’ at Mwanza by Burton. Shalumbo, ‘before long’, saw the yaws completely clear. Burton adds that ‘this was a great strengthening to the old man’s faith’.<sup>358</sup>

The strength of Shalumbo’s faith is also attested to by his son. Ngoy Shalumbo tells how there were miracles through Shalumbo’s ministry during his time at Ngoimani; ‘a dumb woman had the evil spirit cast out of her and was able to speak’.<sup>359</sup> Burton describes Shalumbo commanding ‘foul demons’ to come out of a ‘devil-possessed *vidye*’ in the village of Lubembei in the Ngoimani.<sup>360</sup> Burton also paints Shalumbo’s supernatural empowerment in his being led by the Spirit to recover a stolen pig and uncovering who the thief was; a complete stranger who denied the theft and who had butchered the pig in a village three hours walk away.<sup>361</sup> Shalumbo was also led by a dove to find a lost sheep, which had been bitten by a dog and was bleeding unable to move.<sup>362</sup> Burton writes that ‘this was the atmosphere in which he [Shalumbo] lived’. Burton is aware in his writing such accounts that some would regard the incidents as coincidences. Burton offers an apologetic for what he views as

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<sup>355</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 29/06/1929. In May 1927, Burton had reported having one hundred and twenty evangelists to a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society. See: W.F.P. Burton, ‘The Country of the Baluba in Central Katanga,’ *The Geographical Journal* 70:4 (October 1927): 338.

<sup>356</sup> Burton, *Man*, 76.

<sup>357</sup> *CEMR* 9 (July-September 1925): 95. Here Taylor tells how Yakoba, who ‘had held Ngoimani for two years for the Lord Jesus’, unlike Shalumbo’s son, was not healed and lived in isolation and showed the marks of ‘suffering and trial on his face’.

<sup>358</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 111-112. Yaws was a common skin and bone infection in that area. Burton gives the ‘official figures for the medical assistant at Mwanza’ which record 1454 cases of yaws in a population of around forty thousand; see: *CEMR* 25 (July-September 1925): 369.

<sup>359</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

<sup>360</sup> Burton, *Man*, 80. A *vidye* is the Kiluba name given to a necromancer. Burton explains their roles fully in *Luba Religion*, 50-59.

<sup>361</sup> Burton, *Man*, 83-85.

<sup>362</sup> Burton, *Man*, 85-86.

miraculous leading of the Spirit by writing that to aver for coincidences ‘would have us believe a bigger miracle than the one recorded’.<sup>363</sup>

### 5.10 Missionaries to Kipushya

While visiting Kipushya in 1919, Burton had been approached by the chief who had offered him the choice of any plot of land to occupy with missionaries, adding, ‘There is nothing that we will deny you if you will but come and teach us God’s way.’<sup>364</sup> Shalumbo too had been pleading with Burton to send missionaries to Kipushya. Ngoy Shalumbo states Burton had promised that they would have missionaries from England after Shalumbo had returned, with Burton, from the 1919 visit. He adds that Shalumbo went and pleaded for missionaries.<sup>365</sup>

The pressure that came from the Basongye was such that Burton acknowledges that after the Johnstones arrived at Mwanza in 1921, ‘a special deputation had come from the chief and people at Kipushia, begging for a missionary, and so touched were the Johnstones by this plea, that it proved the deciding factor in their setting out’.<sup>366</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo describes it:

‘God answered prayer and Burton and Salter presented Frederick Johnstone and his wife and said, ‘Here are the missionaries who will go to Kipushya with you, you’ll work together’’.<sup>367</sup>

The influence of the Basongye upon Burton was such that he freely admits some missionaries were ‘apprehensive’ about the Johnstones going to Kipushya seeing it as too great a distance from Mwanza, and would have preferred ‘some intermediate point’.<sup>368</sup> In 1913 Burton had been very guarded in his assessment of Johnstone.<sup>369</sup> In 1924 he admitted he did not believe it was ‘a wise step’ to allow the Johnstones to be ‘so far from their fellow missionaries’.<sup>370</sup> In 1933 though, he lauded him for his ‘grit and grace’ to ‘pioneer such a work’.<sup>371</sup> Privately in the same year, Burton was writing to the Salters about the Johnstones who were ill in England, letting out his frustration over Kipushya:

it will be hard to receive them back on the field [...] His total lack of “gumption” and her dogged, ungovernable will & highly strung nerves have made conditions such that

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<sup>363</sup> Burton, *Man*, 86.

<sup>364</sup> Burton, *Man*, 111.

<sup>365</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>366</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 157. ‘Kipushia’ is an alternative spelling for Kipushya Burton used.

<sup>367</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview, 02/10/2011.

<sup>368</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 157.

<sup>369</sup> Burton, letter to Mundell, 19/09/1913 as mentioned in chapter two: he says here Johnstone had led a sheltered life and had ‘always had his mother’s apron strings to fly to’.

<sup>370</sup> *CEMR* 7 (January-March 1925): 62.

<sup>371</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 158. The Johnstones were based at Kipushya from 1921 until the end of 1933 when they resigned from the CEM on the grounds of ill health; see: *CEMR* 46 (January-February 1934): 770.



if they come back the poor threads that remain of Kipushia work will go finally to pieces. They have absolutely wrecked the work they started.<sup>372</sup>

Even if one were to concur with Burton's assessment that 'God was leading',<sup>373</sup> as the principal cause of the missionaries going so early on so far away from the other missionaries in 1921, the part played by Shalumbo in evoking this narrative is fundamental to the early CEM presence among the Basongye, as too is Burton's willingness to oblige Basongye requests for a missionary presence.

### 5.10.1 Shalumbo's Move to Kipushya

Intriguingly, the Johnstones preceded Shalumbo to Kipushya after Frederick Johnstone had made a prior journey there on his own to reconnoitre the territory 'more thoroughly' than Burton had been able to on his 1919 trip.<sup>374</sup> When the Johnstones set off for Kipushya in 1921, Shalumbo was still helping Taylor at Ngoimani, who had arrived at the same time as the Johnstones with Salter who had himself returned with his new wife, Alice, the daughter of Smith Wigglesworth, 'the plumber' who had written Burton's reference for the PMU.<sup>375</sup> Burton recounts how, Shalumbo with his family and a small party of Basongye Christians made the 232-mile journey back to Kipushya where the Johnstones had already been for around three months. During that time, although they had quickly experienced serious fever, and as there were '232 miles between them and the possibility of any help from brothers and sisters at Mwanza', they had had to rely on '*Jehovah Ropheka*, the unchanging Healer' and after being 'raised up' they had 'worked hard at building their home, planting trees and gardens and had 'quite a little band of souls won for the Lord Jesus'. Shalumbo returned to find the Johnstones installed at Kipushya and, at least in Burton's narrative, receiving the kudos for the 'little band of souls won for the Lord Jesus'.<sup>376</sup> The Johnstones stayed at Kipushya until the end of 1923 when Burton writes they became 'worn out with their labours for God' and went on furlough.<sup>377</sup> This fact again shows the seminal role in the establishing

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<sup>372</sup> Burton, letter to the Salters, 30/11/1933.

<sup>373</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 157.

<sup>374</sup> CEMR 7 (January-March 1925): 62; Burton, *God Working*, 90.

<sup>375</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 114.

<sup>376</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 158-159. Burton balances this praise and, in reality, calls it into question by pointing out here to the readership of *God Working*, how on his own without Shalumbo, Johnstone had got the wrong word for 'Father' and had preached a confusing message to the Kipushya people about their 'heavenly elder sister and her love for them'. Nevertheless, Burton still credits them with winning 'a little band of souls'.

<sup>377</sup> CEMR 7 (January-March 1925): 64.

of Basongye Pentecostalism that only local agency could play. Before going on furlough though, they had had ‘a band of eight native evangelists’ whom they sent out.<sup>378</sup>

### 5.10.2 The Efficacy of Local Agency

Burton describes the challenges facing the Johnstones and their fellow missionaries at Kipushya; ‘Disappointments, extreme loneliness, and many apprehensions of a wild and cannibal race often assailed the missionaries, while prowling animals at their doors gave them many a sleepless night, but God unfailingly protected and sustained.’<sup>379</sup>

Meanwhile local agency appeared to be undaunted by, or at least did not record, what from a Congolese perspective, must have appeared like the mimsy witterings Burton and his missionaries recorded so frequently in *CEMR* and continued to press Pentecostalism forward.

Sally Johnstone writes in 1924 in the first *CEMR* to mention Shalumbo. She tells how people were ‘bemoaning’ the death of a young child and had gathered around a fire ‘with all their native medicines and charms out’. Shalumbo, whom she describes as ‘an elderly evangelist’, took the child and held him over the smoke of the fire and ‘tried the pupils of the eye, but found no sign of life’. He then took him into some nearby long grass and prayed for him ‘until life came back to him, and he got up and walked to his parents’.<sup>380</sup> In *Man*, Burton titles one chapter, ‘A Fruitful Ministry in His Home Country’. In this he recounts some of Shalumbo’s work in a way that seems to attest his pentecostal credentials. He re-gives Sally Johnstone’s above account of the child with ‘no sign of life’. However, Burton asks the question, ‘Had God raised the little one from the dead?’ and gives the evasive answer, ‘We cannot tell’. Burton continues, ‘We have made enquiries from eye-witnesses who say that the child’s jaws were locked, and that it had apparently been dead for some time. However that may be, it is certain that God worked a miracle’.<sup>381</sup>

Burton writes of Shalumbo that ‘the greatest secret of his fruitfulness was the time spent on his knees’ and tells how he prayed for Nduaki, his ‘wayward son’ and would be ‘found out in the forests groaning forth his plea to God, while his whole body shook with sobs’. Nduaki then returned ‘in very penitent mood’ being unable to escape by night or day from the power

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<sup>378</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 159.

<sup>379</sup> Burton, *God Working*, 163.

<sup>380</sup> *CEMR* 1 (July-August 1923): 4-5.

<sup>381</sup> Burton, *Man*, 117-118.

of his parents' prayers'.<sup>382</sup> In this same chapter Burton tells how one of Shalumbo's sons, Solomon died at Kipushya while Shalumbo was at a village called Mukombo. On hearing the news, rather than return to comfort Masele, Shalumbo stayed at Mukombo and continued to preach until after a few days, when 'a number of souls were won for the Lord' he felt 'he had God's permission to go to Kipushya to comfort his wife'. It was while travelling, 'the Lord appeared to him and said, "My son, because you have obeyed Me, I will give you a little daughter in the place of Solomon"'. In spite of Masele's and his own advanced age, they had a baby daughter within a year.<sup>383</sup>

### 5.10.3 The Christian Village

Maxwell states CEM never produced 'Little Englands'.<sup>384</sup> Burton acknowledges in *Man* that the notion of a Christian village is one of 'the most controversial subjects among central African missions'. There are those who argue, 'God did not put all his stars in one corner of the sky', reckoning that 'Christians should be scattered among their heathen neighbours, where they can let their lights shine for God'. While others aver, 'Let us gather the native Christians about us, that we [...] show them how to live the Christian life, and keep them [...] from contamination in the filthy customs of heathen life'. With regard to Shalumbo, Burton simply dismisses the polemics stating that 'the very nature of his ministry was bound to produce a Christian village'.<sup>385</sup> He had those who would speak to him as Ruth spoke to Naomi: "'Intreat me not to leave thee; [...] whither thou goest I will go"'. He hospitably opened his own home constantly and Burton describes his 'brightest ministry' as 'following the straying, upholding the wavering, weeping with the fallen, encouraging the new beginner and generally acting the part of the Christian shepherd'.<sup>386</sup> Shalumbo fulfilled a role in this that the missionaries, given the cultural distance, would always fail to have the imagination to accomplish in the same way.

Within the Christian village, Masele's role was seen by Burton as to function towards the women. Shalumbo, according to Burton, was never a 'lady's man' and 'left the women's section of the work severely to his wife'. Burton writing in 1929 still maintains the view of women's ministry, which he had in his earlier clashes with Boddy. Masele gets a couple of

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<sup>382</sup> Burton, *Man*, 114.

<sup>383</sup> Burton, *Man*, 118-119.

<sup>384</sup> Maxwell, 'Freed,' 85.

<sup>385</sup> Burton, *Man*, 101

<sup>386</sup> Burton, *Man*, 102.

lines here saying that she did this work ‘splendidly’ and was ‘a real mother to the whole village’,<sup>387</sup> yet one has to suppose Burton’s view of her mothering role would be principally to the women and not to the men in the same way. Masele’s name is never mentioned in any *CEMR*. Johnstone reports Masele praying alongside both Johnstones and Amy Entwistle for a woman about to give birth who was ‘threatened with a very serious confinement’ referring to her as ‘Shalumbo’s wife’. In this account from Johnstone, Masele clearly takes the lead in the praying as Johnstone writes how Masele ‘encouraged the woman to put her *whole confidence* in God whatever happened, although she and the others had never before seen such a case’. The woman safely gave birth the next day.<sup>388</sup>

Burton writes of Shalumbo’s own gracious attitude towards those who might struggle in the Christian village. He was once asked would he ‘chase out’ someone in the village if they started to drink beer or set up an idol. His reply was, obviously to a white missionary:

“Bwana [...] God has never put into my hands a stick with which to chase men. He has given me an oil bottle with which to anoint the sick, and a pot from which I can feed the hungry [...] If anyone behaves unworthily, we love him the more, we exhort him first in private and then in public. We pray for him every day, and in the end he is bound to return to his first love, or else to run in discomfort from the village. If he is a sheep, he will be brought back to the fold, but if a wolf in sheep’s clothing, then our Shepherd will deal with him.”<sup>389</sup>

Burton chose to report Shalumbo as having said this; it is impossible to work out how much Burton’s own language comes into this quotation, but what is certain is Burton must have empathised with such an attitude. As will be seen below, not all did. Herschell states the local elders told Lee when he ‘took over’ with his wife as senior missionaries at Kipushya that ‘they would need to use the whip on these people or they would not get anything done there’.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> Burton, *Man*, 103.

<sup>388</sup> *CEMR* 15 (January-March 1927): 186. Emphasis his. Masele was there with her daughter. The baby was a boy weighing nine pounds. In spite of Masele’s exhortation to the woman, Johnstone tempers any praise for Masele’s faith by writing how Masele herself ‘got so fearful’ during the night she had been wanting to call ‘Madame’, but the ‘expectant mother had to exhort her to pray’.

<sup>389</sup> Burton, *Man*, 104.

<sup>390</sup> Herschell, K. ‘Some Great People I have met’; accessed 01/09/2014 [http://meetgreatpeople.blogspot.co.uk/2012\\_12\\_01\\_archive.html](http://meetgreatpeople.blogspot.co.uk/2012_12_01_archive.html), Elvyn Lee was a CEM missionary from 1938-1957. Herschell, a CEM missionary from Australia, was mentioned in chapter four.

### 5.11 The Complicating of Shalumbo's Relationships

At Mwanza Burton had had to deal with a 'lad' called Samwele, who could 'preach splendidly', but who also 'quarrelled and fought with everybody' and was 'a real terror, blacking eyes'. Samwele then came to the Sunday service 'drunk with palm wine' and when Miss Henderson<sup>391</sup> asked him to be quiet, he 'quite upset the service'. Burton dealt with his drunken behaviour in the church service by calling him the next day and having 'a long talk' at the end of which Samwele was 'very penitent'.<sup>392</sup>

A similar disruption occurred at Kipushya when Shalumbo's younger brother, Kabata ka Ya Mema, arrived at the church meeting drunk and Kabata started a fight in the meeting. Shalumbo started to defend Kabata. Mikoso states that Johnstone 'whipped Kabata'. Shalumbo, who had told Burton 'God has never put a stick in my hand', was furious with Johnstone for having whipped Kabata; he saw it as a humiliation. This incident provoked on-going personal 'difficulties' with Kabata.<sup>393</sup>

Mikoso recounts that when Shalumbo had been in Angola he had drunk heavily and that Masele had suffered from this, especially after she became a Christian.<sup>394</sup> This is congruent with Burton's account in *Man* of Shalumbo giving Masele 'a terrible thrashing' at that time.<sup>395</sup> Mikoso states Shalumbo started drinking again at Kipushya after the whipping incident. Mikoso avers there was an on-going conflict with his younger brother after the incident in the church that caused Shalumbo 'to drown his worries in drink'. Masele, understandably, became very anxious and went on to confide in 'Johnstone or one of the other missionaries' her concerns and asked for prayer that Shalumbo would not behave as he had done in Angola.<sup>396</sup>

One can only conjecture as to the level of chagrin, or even irritation that Shalumbo felt if he knew that Masele were confiding in Johnstone her concerns about his behaviour. What is certain is that Shalumbo decided to leave with Kabata. They went first to Kabundulu and then

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<sup>391</sup> Miss Henderson was a CEM missionary from 1922-24. There are no records I can find of her first name.

<sup>392</sup> Burton, letter to James and Alice Salter, 29/05/1923.

<sup>393</sup> Mikoso, interview with author. Mikoso went on to say that Shalumbo's son, Falamende, would work for Johnstone and have people whipped in Johnstone's name without Johnstone realising what had happened.

<sup>394</sup> Mikoso, interview with author.

<sup>395</sup> Burton, *Man*, 36-37.

<sup>396</sup> Mikoso, interview with author.

went on to Bantamba.<sup>397</sup> Bantamba was the village where Shalumbo's mother had been born and was also the village where the Baluba choristers who had accompanied Shalumbo upon his return from Mwanza had settled. Hence its sobriquet, *Chez-Baluba*. Geographically it is looked down upon from Kipushya and today is a tiny village in comparison to Kipushya. Different Congolese sources talk of Shalumbo's relationships with other women at this time. Mbesengye refers to his liaisons with other women associated with his drunkenness.<sup>398</sup> His son denies there was any drinking alcohol that took place and is more in line with the missionary narrative.<sup>399</sup> Burton writes an extra chapter in the 1937-revised edition of *Man* entitled, 'A Dastardly Attempt Fails'. After informing the readers of Masele's death (saying the missionaries lost a 'big-hearted, loyal friend'),<sup>400</sup> Burton then goes on in some detail to tell how Shalumbo, as a widower, became 'a target for several unscrupulous, scheming women'.<sup>401</sup> Burton tells how one woman received a gift of a cloth from Shalumbo after coming to see him for spiritual advice; she was in rags and Shalumbo and Masele had always had the habit of meeting the needs of the poor. Burton defensively supports the view that Shalumbo was 'as innocent as a child' in spite of the woman's accusations that it was 'proof' he 'liked' her.<sup>402</sup> The husband accused Shalumbo to the local chiefs and then to the paramount chief Lumpungu at Kabinda. While still defending Shalumbo, Burton acknowledges that the neighbourhood was divided. Shalumbo only wanted that 'reproach might be removed from the holy name and testimony of the Lord Jesus'. Burton writes how the woman finally confessed that 'she and she alone was guilty' and thus 'God had answered and righteousness had triumphed'.<sup>403</sup>

### 5.12 Shalumbo's Death

In *Man*, Burton acknowledges that the accusations made against Shalumbo 'aged him very much, and it had much to do with his final decision to re-marry'.<sup>404</sup> In 1937, with the Burtons in South Africa in poor health, it is left to Salter to be the one to break the news of Shalumbo's death to *CEMR* readers writing, 'dear old Shalumbo passed peacefully away

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<sup>397</sup> Mikoso, interview with Claude.

<sup>398</sup> Mbesengye, interview.

<sup>399</sup> Ngoy Shalumbo, interview.

<sup>400</sup> Burton, *Man*, 123.

<sup>401</sup> Burton, *Man*, 124.

<sup>402</sup> Burton, *Man*, 125.

<sup>403</sup> Burton, *Man*, 127.

<sup>404</sup> Burton, *Man*, 128.

about an hour ago after a week's illness. Our hearts are deeply grieved'.<sup>405</sup> Burton had written to Salter in September 1936 saying the 'terrible pressure' he has been under for the previous four years has 'broken' him.<sup>406</sup> From correspondence between Salter and Burton at that time, it can be seen that the relationship between these two was probably at its nadir both in the months preceding and following Shalumbo's death with Burton, frustrated, writing to Salter from South Africa such things as, 'CARRY ON THE WORK WITH HIM YOURSELF'.<sup>407</sup> The 'Oman affair'<sup>408</sup> dominates all the extant correspondence around this time between the two (1936-1938) and Shalumbo is not mentioned in any of Burton's letters to Salter. The result of this is that it appears nowhere is it possible to find Burton's reactions to Shalumbo's death. Salter writes in 1940 about the prolonged tensions between himself and Burton in veiled terms; he starts by describing Burton as 'a kind of "one man team", always a stride ahead of everybody else', but adds how from the start he had 'a sneaking regard for him', he writes about how Burton nearly lost his 'chum' five times during their first four years in Congo and how they 'faced death' together and shared 'one purse' and then writes:

Slander and misrepresentation have done their worst to break mutual confidence. A score of things, none of which could be put on paper, have worked to wreck this God-made fusion. It is in the light of what has happened during the past 25 years that we see how vital that union was and is, and realise why the devil has worked so hard to break it.<sup>409</sup>

Johnstone writes about Shalumbo having been ill for around ten days prior to his death and having caught a 'chill' in the 'treacherous dry season winds'.<sup>410</sup> One Musongye, a great grandchild of Shalumbo, gives the Kisongye name for the illness as *mudimba mbafu*, which means having a bad cough and being unable to breathe. Shalumbo, according to this source,

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<sup>405</sup> CEMR 68 (September-October 1937): 211. Louis Yobo (the eldest son of Shalumbo with Masele) when interviewed by Ebondo Nkongolo in 1988 said Shalumbo had died in 1938. Ngoie Marcel in *Muwa wa Shalumbo [Life of Shalumbo]* also states his death was in 1938 and apologises in the preface to his book that that the earlier edition published in Tshiluba gave the year of his death as 1936. It is probably safe to assume in this instance that both Marcel and Louis Yobo made mistakes in the reporting of this date. It might have been that Marcel, like Ebondo, used Louis Yobo as a primary source. Louis Yobo would have been living virtually on Marcel's doorstep. Neither would have had access to the contemporaneous recording of CEMR.

<sup>406</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 01/09/1936.

<sup>407</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 14/01/1937. Emphasis his. This low point in their relationship is examined elsewhere. 'Him' is referring to Axel Oman.

<sup>408</sup> Axel Oman was an AG missionary working with the CEM from 1924 to 1936. There is too much to write about here other than the briefest of summaries. Oman frustrated Burton by having had more support from the USA than the CEM missionaries who pooled their support in a common pot. When the financial crisis of the 1930s hit the USA, both Oman and the AG wanted the CEM to give him his support. Burton was frustrated with AG and also felt Salter was not supportive of Burton's stance.

<sup>409</sup> CEMR 85 (November-December 1940): 560.

<sup>410</sup> CEMR 68 (September-October 1937): 211.

was brought back from Bantamba (around four kilometres down the valley from Kipushya) to Mwidingi (this was what became the Christian village within a few hundred yards of the Kipushya mission station).<sup>411</sup> When Shalumbo returned from Mwanza to Kipushya he brought a choir of Baluba speakers with him to help evangelise. These Baluba were not appreciated by the Bekalebwe and they all went and lived in Bantamba. Consequently, the village was given the nickname *Mu-baluba* [Chez Baluba].<sup>412</sup> Johnstone also reported that the missionaries had been visiting Shalumbo regularly, but saw that the chill had ‘developed into pneumonia’ and they realised he was ‘sinking rapidly’.<sup>413</sup> One cannot be sure whether the missionaries had been visiting him regularly at Bantamba or at Mwidingi. The fact that he says ‘regularly’ and because marriage and drink issues had left Shalumbo to some extent isolated causes one to suspect that it might have only been when he moved back to Mwidingi. If this were true, it would mean that over his final years, Shalumbo probably had little interaction with the missionaries until the last ten days. According to Johnstone, he had been trying to hum a hymn tune just a couple of hours before he died and was encouraging those around him to repent. Johnstone sums up Shalumbo in *CEMR* referring to him as ‘one of His choicest black gems’, and continues that Shalumbo ‘has gone to the realms above, and although he is no more with us, we believe many of his words will live for years to come in the hearts of hundreds of our Bekalebwe and Luban peoples’.<sup>414</sup>

### 5.13 Considerations on Shalumbo’s Life

#### 5.13.1 Was Shalumbo Respected ‘On the Field’?

Kipushya missionary, Blythe, writing in 1941 in *CEMR* posthumously refers to Shalumbo as, ‘the old slave raider’ who ‘was looked upon as the father of this work’.<sup>415</sup> The Blythes wrote about their arriving at Kipushya accompanied by Womersley and Burton: ‘the natives crowded around to greet us. Among them we saw for the first time old Shalumbo, who has become known to many through the book “When God Changes a Man”’.<sup>416</sup> It is remarkable

<sup>411</sup> Ngoy Kilumba, interview with the author in Kabinda, 03/10/2011. Those outside of Kipushya would still refer to Mwidingi as Kipushya Mission. Kipushya village would be about three kilometres away from Kipushya Mission.

<sup>412</sup> Mikoso, interview with Claude.

<sup>413</sup> *CEMR* 68 (September-October 1937): 211.

<sup>414</sup> *CEMR* 68 (September-October 1937): 211-212.

<sup>415</sup> *CEMR* 88 (May-June 1941): 624. ‘Work’ meaning the Basongye people group.

<sup>416</sup> *CEMR* 44 (September-October 1933): 724. When the Blythes had arrived as new missionaries to Kipushya in 1933, they had arrived with Burton and Womersley. The latter two had failed to meet them earlier on in their journey and the Blythes regretted their non-appearance at Kalundwe Falls with camp beds, so necessitating them sleeping, albeit ‘in the best huts’, on ‘a native bed’ that they likened to ‘sleeping on a clothes line’. After



that in this article written in 1933 by new missionaries arriving at Kipushya, Shalumbo is locally situated among the ‘natives’ who crowded around, yet for the readership of the *CEMR* he has a more elevated position as ‘known to many through the book’, which had been published in December 1929. There is a seeming irregularity between the missionary view of Shalumbo, ‘in the crowd’ and his ‘storybook position’, being ‘known to many’. The making of pentecostal heroes, in missionary terms, meant the image of the ‘exotic other’ could fade into insignificance whenever pentecostal experience occurred; it has been noted that ‘newly minted pentecostals perceived the baptism of the Spirit to be the same wherever it occurred’.<sup>417</sup> One could therefore possibly expect the effect of pentecostal experience to be to equate ‘the other’ with missionary agency when both were working to the same end. At least in this case, Shalumbo remained in the local setting ‘in the crowd’ and separated from the missionaries. He was among the mass of the population and unconnected from his biographer, apart from greeting him when he arrived. In Burton’s work it could be argued that baptism in the Spirit never did bring parity between missionaries and local agents. In a 1925 CEM conference of missionaries, the contrasting loci of missionaries and local agents is delineated when it was agreed that ‘the evangelists bring in their reports and offerings monthly to the missionary in charge’.<sup>418</sup> At least in this instance, colonial and cultural sway contextually seemed greater than pentecostal influence. Burton’s ideal clashed with experience and must have engendered frustration within him.

This latter concern of caring for gardens was seen as being taken to the extreme. Mikoso tells how Johnstone ‘employed’ Shalumbo’s eldest son, Louis Fwamba (Falamende) to hit anyone with a stick ‘who dared to walk on his lawn’ or ‘who tried to steal his guavas or walk through the mission grounds without a valid reason’; Mikoso states Johnstone was ‘more colonial than missionary’.<sup>419</sup> It is important to note that after the Johnstones’ arrival at Kipushya in 1920, Burton was superseded by Fred Johnstone as the main interface between Shalumbo and the CEM. Later, in January 1928, at the same meeting that recognised Salter and Burton as

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two more days of travelling (without camp beds) the Blythes were joined by Burton and Womersley (with camp beds).

<sup>417</sup> Jay Riley Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 247. He adds that the *Bridegroom’s Messenger’s* descriptions of ‘a Pentecost falling in Palestine and Liberia looked just the same as Pentecost that fell in Indianapolis, and Bellingham, Washington’.

<sup>418</sup> Minutes of Mwanza Conference, October 1925, no. 8. Emphasis mine. Also as mentioned earlier, gardens too were to be inspected by the missionaries; see: Minutes of Mwanza Conference, October 1925, no. 9.

<sup>419</sup> Mikoso, interview with Claude. He adds that Johnstone was ‘severe and loved order’.

permanent directors of the CEM,<sup>420</sup> it was decided that the missionaries would ‘not discourage native Christians from building near the mission stations, but all natives must be discouraged from building within 300 (400) metres of mission sites’.<sup>421</sup>

### 5.13.2 Contrasting Views on the Shalumbo Narrative

In the same edition of *CEMR* that announces Shalumbo’s death the publication of a paperback version of *Man* is announced.<sup>422</sup> In this, there is something of a romantic veneration of Shalumbo’s life:

Shouts of invading cannibals; lives of cruelty and daring; weird native superstitions in a remote Congo tribe - that is how this book opens. We tramp Africa’s plains and forests with the slave-gang. We watch narrow escapes from lion and executioner. No more daring adventures can be found in the most thrilling novel. But the difference is that these stories in the life of Shalumbo are all absolutely true. How amazing the change when the slave-raider bows the knee at Calvary, and becomes the devoted servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. Through Lubaland and Songiland Shalumbo tramps, winning souls and establishing churches. No journey too arduous and no opposition too great to be conquered by the daring of this man’s simple faith. God never fails. Bodies are healed, idols burned, chiefs become his allies, and the sweet old gospel triumphs.<sup>423</sup>

Even the secular press loved the narrative; the *Oxford Times* review of the book hailed Shalumbo’s ‘apostolic service’ and described the book as ‘no less thrilling as any fabrication of novelists’; it added how the book depicted ‘some of the orgies’ and the review also described Shalumbo as ‘a past-master in the art of torture as well as a successful and brutal slave-raider and polygamist’.<sup>424</sup> If Burton, after Shalumbo’s death, was encouraging British readers to understand the value of his life in a quasi-romantic manner, then his Musongye biographer, Ngoie Marcel, recognised the value of Shalumbo’s life at a much later date in 1968, and promotes his own book at that time, but with a contrastingly more serious and instructive tone:

This book has to be taught in all our schools of EPCO (C.E.M.) among the Basongye while teaching the lessons of history, of our culture (land) of our church, of the end of slavery, of how our church started and of our pioneers.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> Minutes of Field Council Meeting, January 1928, 1.

<sup>421</sup> Minutes of Field Council Meeting, January 1928, 9.

<sup>422</sup> *CEMR* 68 (September-October 1937): 219.

<sup>423</sup> *CEMR* 68 (September-October 1937): 220. I might be making a wrong assumption if I said Burton wrote this; he was in South Africa at the time and threatening Salter that he would never return to Congo.

<sup>424</sup> *The Oxford Times* (27/12/1929): 8.

<sup>425</sup> Marcel, *Muwa*, viii. Emphasis mine.

While British readers are promised an engaging narrative of ‘slave-raider’ going on to ‘bow the knee at Calvary’, the Congolese perception given by Marcel, is that Shalumbo is responsible for the coming of Pentecostalism to the Basongye people.

### 5.14 Conclusion

Some Westerners may have actually even become missionaries with the objective of ushering Africans into the civilised world by way of conversion;<sup>426</sup> by writing *Man*, Burton contributes a diametric counterpoint to such a view. *Man* is feasibly Burton’s indebtedness to the role of Congolese agency in its embryonic Pentecostalism. Such appraisal is often disregarded in relatively recent mission historiography and academic research into the CEM. For example, Pepper’s 2003 Masters dissertation investigating the founding of an indigenous church in Congo, mentions Shalumbo only once, and then merely a passing reference to him as ‘one of the leaders of the returned slaves’.<sup>427</sup> Garrard’s 2015 account of the ‘Birth of Congolese Pentecostalism’ fails to mention Shalumbo at all.<sup>428</sup> David Womersley, who does mention him in passing, completely erases Shalumbo’s spearheading trip to Kipushya giving the impression he merely accompanied the Burtons when they eventually travelled there portraying Burton as the initiator of the move to pioneer in the Kasai. Burton’s relationship with Shalumbo is therefore seen to be along avuncular lines.<sup>429</sup> In keeping with this, Maxwell sees, ‘The Congolese Church [as] descended from the CEM’.<sup>430</sup> This thesis contributes to re-setting the historiography.

Burton and his missionaries did carry some of the animus to spread the flames of early Congolese Pentecostalism, but it was even more prominent in local agency, especially when it came to some areas, such as the Basongye people and the mosquito-infested swamps of Lake Kisale. Local agency manifestly both carried the seed and bore the fruit of a brand of

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<sup>426</sup> Comaroff, Jean, ‘Pentecostalism, Populism and The New Politics of Affect’, in Dena Freeman (Ed) *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 41.

<sup>427</sup> Ivor Pepper, ‘An investigation into the impact of British Pentecostal mission, and the founding of an indigenous church in the Democratic Republic of Congo,’ Masters dissertation, Mattersey Hall (in cooperation with the University of Wales, Bangor). Pepper was the Secretary of the CEM in Preston and had full and unrestricted access to all the archives.

<sup>428</sup> D. Garrard, ‘William F.P. Burton and the Birth of Congolese Pentecostalism,’ 75-99.

<sup>429</sup> David Womersley, *The House*, 112.

<sup>430</sup> Maxwell, ‘The Missionary Home,’ 433.

self-propagating Pentecostalism that would go on to flourish dramatically when the missionaries, along with the Belgian colonials, were forced to leave in 1960.

Ominously, Shalumbo is the second local agent examined in this thesis whose relationship with Burton started well and led to being given significant responsibility in a context where the ubiquitous colonial regime insisted upon white supervision. Shalumbo had been in Burton's view of local agency, the *uber native*. However, the freezing out of both Shalumbo's (and Ngoloma's) leadership roles frustrate and call into question Burton's ideal of indigenisation.

## CHAPTER SIX

### BURTON'S DEVOLVING POWER: THE CEM 1959-1964<sup>1</sup>

Figure 21

Missionary Field Conference Kabongo 1954<sup>2</sup>

Photo courtesy of CEM archives



#### Introduction

The previous two chapters accentuated both Burton's appreciation of and frustration with

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<sup>1</sup> Although this chapter does include the years up until Burton's death its emphasis is on the years in the title.

<sup>2</sup> This conference acknowledged the setting up of the Raggatt Trust: a pension fund for missionaries retiring. See: Minutes of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, Nos. 21-25, 09-16/08/1954. Although the photo was taken outside of the years in the title of this chapter, I identify here some of the names mentioned in this chapter. Burton seated front row on the right; Salter seated front row on the left; both Knaufs immediately behind Salter; Womersley first row standing in the middle with bow tie; Ramsbottom standing on Womersley's left; Hodgson standing two to the right of Womersley; Don Gordon, immediately behind Burton; David Womersley immediately behind Gordon; Hawkins to David Womersley's left, John Emmett back row behind David Womersley; Ruth Emmett only woman standing holding a child; Joe Robinson back row second from left.

local agency. This chapter again highlights Burton's relationship with his missionaries, but only in the context of Burton's ideal for indigenisation. A motif throughout this thesis has been the vacillating levels of determined desire for indigenisation both from Burton and from his missionaries. Belgian colonialism frustrated any possible attempts to fully implement this before Independence in June 1960. The general pattern within Congolese protestant missions by 1955 resulted in only 452 ordained Congolese protestant pastors, compared to 2,052 western missionaries.<sup>3</sup> This section examines the tectonic shifts in the provenance of church government that took place in the years building up to and following Independence (30<sup>th</sup> June 1960). It also examines the assassinations of Hodgson and Knauf on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1960.<sup>4</sup> Feelings of insecurity in such times and the murders of missionary co-workers engendered the diffusion of a determination to stay in Congo among many of the missionaries on the field. Praying for doors to remain open metastasised, thus frustrating Burton's ideal of indigenisation. In 1964, Burton saw the lights were on in missionary homes in Katanga, but must have wondered whether anyone was at home?

## **6.0 Conferences, Administrative Board Meetings and Mood Swings 1959-1960**

At the start of 1959 the CEM Administrative Board was still making decisions regarding 'Native Brethren'. For example, one minute stated no evangelist or elder could be invited 'to minister' in Jadotville (Likasi) or Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) unless they had 'the written recommendation of Bro. Yesson who is in charge of these works'.<sup>5</sup> Around four months later, there is mention of Ramsbottom representing Katea, and Knauf representing Kipushya at what is referred to as 'the coming Native Conference'.<sup>6</sup> This 'Native Conference' was not

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<sup>3</sup> Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, 112-114, cited by Emma Wild-Wood in *Migration*, 34. Wild-Wood rather dramatically makes her point citing this statistic without giving the background explanation that Markowitz does. There were actually 1518 Protestant African pastors, of which 452 had been 'consecrated', adding that 'only a bare handful of these had received training in any way comparable to that of their missionary colleagues'. Markowitz also observes here that pressure came from the Vatican to see an indigenous clergy in Congo, and this was contrary to the feelings of many Roman Catholic clergy in Congo. He cites four letters from four different popes from 1919-1959 that raised the issue of indigenous clergy in Congo. Whether Burton was aware of this, we do not know. It would have been of great interest to know his reactions to the idealism of four popes.

<sup>4</sup> Although it is outside the scope of this thesis to examine the political context with all its concomitant upheaval at both national and Katangese levels, this change transpires during war and famine. One CEM missionary saw those events being outplayed in the 'eleventh hour of the world's history'; see: *CEMR* 274 (September 1959): 3. The missionary is Harold Berry, CEM missionary 1939-1964. Berry was from Lytham and married Smith Wigglesworth's granddaughter, Alice Wigglesworth in 1940.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Administrative Board Meeting, Luena, No.17, 13-14/01/1959.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes of the Administrative Board Meeting, Kashikulu, No.8, 14-16/04/1959. This can be viewed as more of a step backwards when one remembers that in the last chapter it was mentioned that when John and Ruth Emmett had gone on furlough in 1953, Mbele had been listed as the missionary 'in charge'.

initiated by the missionaries, but at the request of the Mwanza elders.<sup>7</sup> The conference did take place and thirteen missionaries attended and 22 Congolese.<sup>8</sup>

Around three months later, Brown, writing as *CEMR* editor in the September 1959 issue, manifests something of the naiveté of the missionaries in July 1959, citing the conference held at Mwanza, as being the first with ‘both black and white workers’, opining it auspiciously heralded never-ending harmonious interactions:

We have been making history since the last issue in that we have had a Conference of both black and white workers [...] we had a Congolese Co-Chairman with Brother Womersley [...] There were twenty-four Congolese and twelve missionaries, so that for any voting we were well out-numbered, yet all went well and with a swing, and everyone was happy on the way home. It augurs well for future relationship in the new line and move [...] Everywhere now the natives are taking part in their own affairs [...] It is another sign that the Church in Congo is growing up.<sup>9</sup>

‘Congolese Co- Chairman’ Ephraim Kayumba was given space in *CEMR* to report on this ‘making history’ moment.<sup>10</sup> Kayumba gives Burton’s perspective (who had once criticised Ngoloma for having too much of an independent spirit):

At the close, Mr. Burton rose to his feet and thanked us all for our presence and the lovely spirit we had gathered in. He said we had behaved most courteously and all had gone smoothly with no ugly disputes. He continued, “The bow cannot do without the arrow, nor the arrow without the bow.” In other words - the whites have need of the blacks and the blacks in their turn have need of the whites.<sup>11</sup>

Kayumba also states how the decision was made for pastors to ‘baptise faithful followers of the Lord, to perform marriage rites, to bury the dead and to dedicate infants. All this they were permitted to carry out’. Moreover, he reports a Congolese delegate saying, “‘We don’t yet feel we can take full responsibility of the Lord’s work. We still look to our missionaries for help’”.<sup>12</sup> It is noticeable that in his reporting, Kayumba scripts this as coming from ‘One

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<sup>7</sup> Minutes of the Administrative Board Meeting, Kashikulu, Nos.7 and 8, 14-16/04/1959.

<sup>8</sup> Myanda Mitabijbwe Mu Kitango Kyetu Kya Ku Mwanza [Accepted matters at our gathering in Mwanza], le 16,17 Juillet 1959. J.Emmett archives. It is to be noted the CEM archives do not have a copy of these minutes. Both Congolese and missionaries listed as present are only given one name: they are Ephraimi, Lubinga, Jonase, Dominiki, Mateo, Severiono, Patishio, Petelo, Besito, Mateo, Afesa, Shimioni, Temote, Moise, Tomasi, Yakoba, Piele, Solomone, Polo, Zakiasa, Elekemi, Jonafani, Piele, Abalama, Womersley, Hawkins, Brown, Burton, Berry, Butler, Fowler, Gordon, Hodgson, Knauf, Ramsbottom, Salter, Yesson.

<sup>9</sup> *CEMR* 274 (September 1959): 19.

<sup>10</sup> Ephraim Kayumba later toured some UK churches in 1963, see: *CEMR* 314 (1963): 16.

<sup>11</sup> *CEMR* 275 (October 1959): 2.

<sup>12</sup> *CEMR* 275 (October 1959): 2-3. The minute authorising the Congolese pastors to baptise, marry, bury and dedicate was number ten.

of our members', not from the majority that were there. Kayumba's writing is filtered through Mary Brown's translation and Alfred Brown's editing (Burton was no longer the editor).

Burton, no naïf in July 1959, described the Conference as 'one of our sweetest concourses in my experience'. Contrary to Brown, who had said this was the first ever conference with Congolese present as delegates, Burton wrote about a previous attempt to hold such a conference and how the 'native teachers' had been asked what they would like to discuss. He writes how at that earlier conference, 'They floundered like little children, talked of a couple of pettifogging nothings and finally said "We are not here to be teachers but to learn. You tell us what to do."' <sup>13</sup> Now in 1959 Burton depicts the maturity of these current Congolese leaders. The extent to which events running towards independence fuelled that heightened awareness of maturity is a moot point. The Congolese confidence would have been bolstered by the missionaries empowering them by doubling the number of their delegates to the missionaries. This meant Burton could write of their willingness to 'correct the Britisher', and the fact that 'there were no "yes-men"'. Burton said one of the emphases of that conference was the 'necessity for [...] living and ministering in the power of the Spirit'. In *CEMR* Burton warns those who 'talk of [...] the "primitive black" for many of these dear Christian leaders in our Conference are as good men as we are, and perhaps a lot better'. <sup>14</sup> He concludes about this Mwanza conference, 'Brother Salter is with us at these gatherings and I am sure that he and I, as we think of our first simple beginnings on this Mwanza Hill 44 years ago, are filled with praise to God for bringing the native churches thus far in adult stature'. <sup>15</sup>

Burton was not writing on behalf of all CEM missionaries. Mood swings appear in *CEMR*. Some missionaries believed independence would be a bad thing for Congo as well as for the church. Yesson, writing later, just two months before Independence, sees the colonial Belgian government as having manifested Christian values towards the Congolese:

In two brief months, the "powers that be" will be the Congo Christians' own compatriots instead of the protective Officials of a European Administration, which, whatever its faults, governs largely on the basis of Christian ethics. What attitude is

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<sup>13</sup> I am unable to work out which conference Burton is referring to and cannot find any record of this.

<sup>14</sup> *CEMR* 275 (October 1959): 17-18. Burton feels the need to 'surprise' those 'who think that everyone who has not been educated by European standards is an "uncivilized" barbarian' with his publication in 1961 of Congolese apoloques, *The Magic Drum*. He describes 'the accurate and efficient teaching system' that has existed 'for centuries'; see: Burton, *The Magic Drum*, 9.

<sup>15</sup> *CEMR* 275 (October 1959): 17-18.



the Christian Church to expect from these people?<sup>16</sup>

In 1963, four years later, Kayumba, the son of Womersley's 'factotum'<sup>17</sup> from Womersley's Kikondja days, punctured pretensions of such paternalism by leading the first ever exit of churches from the CEM, stating, 'We do not want to work together with the whites from the CEM' and that to remain with them was to remain 'in perpetual bondage'.<sup>18</sup> The reason for this change of heart is, at least partly, provided by Nsenga Nkunka.<sup>19</sup> Nkunka narrates how Kayumba, who was trained in law, was asked to register a complaint on behalf of Jonathan Ilunga that brought 'the wrath' of the missionaries down upon him and he was not admitted to the next conference.<sup>20</sup>

The next conference of Congolese and missionaries (at the start of June 1960) offers some explanation for the impending Congolese exit by some from the CEM. A minute stated, 'we have been given authority to baptise and carry out marriage ceremonies, but on the marriage certificates there is no place to write the pastor's name'. The omission of the Congolese pastor's name on marriage certificates was viewed dimly, but a worse situation arose over baptismal certificates, 'again there are two spaces - that of the Missionary in front and that of the pastor following. Is this acceptable?'<sup>21</sup> Given the CEM's constitutional ambitions to plant indigenous churches and Independence 26 days away, the question was obviously rhetorical.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> CEMR 287 (October 1960): 5. Yesson also admits here, 'The average missionary has been left breathless by the turn and above all the speed of events'. Burton's relationship with Yesson is ambiguous. Burton wrote in March 1952 to his nephew, Owen Saunders, 'You are right in your estimate of Yesson, though I am sorry you noticed it'. Burton, letter to Saunders, 23/03/1952.

<sup>17</sup> CEMR 286 (September 1960): 17. Womersley states here that Kayumba, 'aged 34 or 35 [...] is highly respected [...] for his fearless testimony and obvious ability [...] and would be an acceptable representative of Pentecost in any gathering'. The word 'factotum' is Womersley's word to describe Kayumba's father's role, as well as being 'a Kisale fisherman', to himself as 'bachelor missionary'. Womersley also writes here that both he and Hodgson started the Kikondja station in 1925. I add this here given the discussion in chapter four over Ngoloma's place in the historiography.

<sup>18</sup> Garrard, 'History,' 53-54, n.12. Garrard is drawing here from an interview on 13/12/1980 with Yumba Wa Nkulu. He was president of the EPCO churches until his death in 1982.

<sup>19</sup> Nkunka was a close friend of Kayumba's in Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) and worked as a mason, building the first church building for Kayumba's breakaway 45<sup>th</sup> community; Claude Kapenga, email message to the author, 18/05/2016.

<sup>20</sup> Nsenga Nkunka, interview with Claude, 18/05/2016. This is the short version of the story, which states that Jonathan Ilunga refused to admit he was behind asking Kayumba to ask the question over seeing the statutes of the mission. I have been unable to get any corroborating testimony to this. It is difficult to now understand why the missionaries refused to show them to Kayumba and were deeply offended by his asking to see them.

<sup>21</sup> Myanda Mitabijbwe Mu Kitango Kyetu Kya Ku Kabongo, No.10, [Minutes of the Kabongo Meeting of Church Leaders], 03-04/06/1960.

<sup>22</sup> *Congo Evangelistic Mission Constitution* No.6, n.d.

Ngoy Bilolo, a Kabinda journalist, gave me the ‘*Certificat de Pasteur*’, which had belonged to his father, Patisho Ngoy Yeremi. (Two attempts had been made to poison Yeremi because of his Christian witness; his stature is seen in his having an edifying ministry ‘both to white and black’.)<sup>23</sup> The certificate was signed by Ramsbottom on the 7th August 1963, over three years after independence, and recognised that he had been ‘*en service*’ since 1922. The certificate, with gold seal, declared this pastor with 41 years of service was recognised by the CEM missionaries as a ‘*PASTEUR de bonne conduite et fidélité*’(sic). Wilfred Brinkman renewed the certificate by signing and dating it in 1966.<sup>24</sup>

Figure 22

1963 Pastor’s Certificate for Ngoy Yeremi

Given to the author in 2012 by Ngoie Bilolo (Yeremi’s son)



CEM Administrative Board meetings routinely took place, but CEM conferences were not frequent. Conferences were held at Kabongo in 1954 and 1957. In 1957 the Kabongo conference passed a minute, ‘That as missionaries we meet once a year together with

<sup>23</sup> CEMR 298 (September 1961): 4. This is Joan Rhodes’ description of him; she was a CEM missionary based at Kipushya, 1946-78. She was also a descendant of Cecil Rhodes, see: David Womersley, *The House*, 40.

<sup>24</sup> Bilolo, archives. [A pastor of good behaviour and faithfulness]. Ngoy Yeremi chaired the Conference held at Kipushya of Congolese leaders on 15/11/1961, see: Conference of Kasai Congolese leaders with missionary delegates, Ramsbottom and Dalby, Kipushya, 15/11/1961, J. Emmett archives.

overseers of the native church to discuss matters affecting the native church'.<sup>25</sup> July 15th 1959 at Mwanza is the first time that happened after that minute was passed. Given the rarity of CEM conferences, that 'making history' conference loses some of its seriousness when another CEM conference, with only missionaries present, is held four weeks later at Kabongo in August 1959. Its juxtaposition to the 'making history conference' could be viewed as cynical. More so when looking at the Kabongo 1959 minutes; the minutes of the 1957 (missionaries only) Conference are accepted,<sup>26</sup> but there is no mention whatsoever of the 'making-history conference' held four weeks earlier. There is a major decision taken to appoint Hodgson as the new field superintendent replacing Burton, who steps down to become the 'Honorary Field Director'.<sup>27</sup> All the missionaries attending that conference (55 attended) must have discussed indigenisation. William Dalby gave his thoughts about the 1959 Kabongo missionary conference in *CEMR*:

The indigenous Church may become self-governing and independent of the missionaries who helped to bring it into existence, or God may grant us a few more years to labour for Him in the work we have come to love.<sup>28</sup>

Dalby's use of 'or' means he perceives an indigenous church as being dissonant with God granting 'a few more years to labour for him in the work we love'. This suggests that at least some missionaries still saw the concept of an indigenous church as threatening 'the work we have come to love'. Dalby described the 'warm feeling of the oneness in Christ Jesus - that oneness which transcends differences of opinion and revelation - that oneness which is bred only of the Spirit'.<sup>29</sup> Given his earlier statements, one questions how the 'oneness' he wrote about was inclusive of the Congolese Christians; they are unequivocally excluded from the context on this occasion.

Dalby did not write for all the missionaries. Burton's admiration for the Congolese delegates at Mwanza in 1959 has been shown. John and Muriel Shelbourne, new CEM recruits, even wrote about 'feeling proud' at Independence Day upon seeing nine hundred soldiers do their

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<sup>25</sup> Minutes of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, No.21, 12-19/08/1957.

<sup>26</sup> Minutes of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, No.1, 17-22/08/1959.

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, Nos.17 and 18, 17-22/08/1959.

<sup>28</sup> *CEMR* 276 (November 1959): 2. Dalby's language here reflects an 'us and them' attitude.

<sup>29</sup> *CEMR* 276 (November 1959): 2. Dalby was a CEM missionary 1958-1965 and was the head teacher of the Secondary School at Kipushya. Dalby, along with Ramsbottom attended a 1962 Conference at Kipushya and concluded in his report, 'they showed their desire for the return of the missionaries'. See: *CEMR*, 302 (January 1962): 2.

marching in Kongolo. They wrote this and one week later fled under gunfire.<sup>30</sup> Thirty years before Burton was deliberating whether to leave Congo considering the work to be done.<sup>31</sup> In 1939 within the context of stating ‘we have just about reached the needed limit for our need of white personnel for the CEM’, Burton had also written to Salter, ‘It w’d not do to tell them so, but the natives can now do much of what they undertake, and at a much less cost’.<sup>32</sup>

The CEM archives have very few minutes of Congolese leadership meetings before Independence. However, minutes from a June 1960 conference of Congolese leaders held at Kabongo just weeks before Independence show something of the mood of the Congolese leaders, explicit with regard to missionaries having their own conferences: ‘we agree that they will be together, the whites and the blacks always’.<sup>33</sup> Something of the reason for mistrust concerning missionary conferences without a Congolese presence is detected in the preceding minute, which states, ‘Concerning the gifts for their [the missionaries’] church we say that: Now we want all the gifts of the churches in our hands, indeed what is in the bank itself should be only in the name of those who will be chosen to look after it, indeed all the money from the sale of books will be ours too’.<sup>34</sup>

The Congolese leaders themselves (who met at a time when much ‘anti-white propaganda’ in Congo was being reported in *CEMR*)<sup>35</sup> were still regarding a missionary presence as something that Congolese Pentecostals could encourage; the concluding minute passed at that entirely Congolese meeting of church leaders stated:

Our final word is this: All of us pastors we state that the Christians must respect all our missionaries because they are our messengers who have brought us the gospel. If a Christian or a local pastor does not submit to this word he will be rebuked in the church.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *CEMR* 287 (October 1960): 7-8. The Shelbournes had only arrived in Congo as CEM missionaries the year before. John Shelbourne became the AOG pastor in Lincoln and died in May 1989, aged 55.

<sup>31</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

<sup>32</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 02/03/1939.

<sup>33</sup> Minutes of the Kabongo Meeting of Church Leaders, No.3, 03-04/06/1960. Those listed as present were Afesa Shimoni, (Kabongo); Mateo Silivano, (Katompe); Pita Mbele, (Kipushya); Dominique Kalele, (Katea); the remainder just have single names which I will list as recorded: Sekai, (Lulungu); Ezoma, (Kisanga); Beseka, (Mwanza); Mosesa, (Kisale); Yoano, (Kabondo-Dianda); Pierre, (Kamina); Philippe, (Kashikulu).

<sup>34</sup> Minutes of the Kabongo Meeting of Church Leaders, No.2, 03-04/06/1960,

<sup>35</sup> *CEMR* 285 (August 1960): 10; *CEMR* 288 (November 1960): 2. Berry and Hodgson respectively reporting the growing anti-white sentiment in the country. They stated that feeling had moved from ‘anti-Belgian’ to ‘anti-white’.

<sup>36</sup> Minutes of the Kabongo Meeting of Church Leaders, No.16, 03-04/06/1960,

Hawkins confirms the demonstrability of this attitude when writing his newsletter, just months afterwards in August 1960:

Things got very bad in the Congo and we felt the atmosphere getting different. Although the dear Saints were so kind to us [...] yet there are so many that do not know him and they are the source of the trouble [...] They are not prepared to be on equal terms with the White, for when they get equality they demand superiority.<sup>37</sup>

This same meeting of Congolese leaders, as shown above, passed some robust minutes that showed the Congolese Pentecostals wanted to be treated by the missionaries on a far more equal footing, yet there was no desire to see the missionaries go and anecdotal evidence as provided by Hawkins, suggested there was, at least in some quarters, a desire to be ‘kind to’ and protect the missionaries from the rising tide of ‘anti-white’ feeling.

### 6.1 Growing Triggers for Indigenisation

June 1960 saw *CEMR*’s ‘45th Anniversary Number’. Burton reifies his pentecostal credentials stating ‘one of the great secrets of our success has been that from the day we reached this country we have laid hands on the sick in the Name of the Lord Jesus and God has healed them’. Burton avers that the Spirit enables these ‘gospellers’ both ‘native and white’. Concluding, Burton looks to the future. He is writing just a few weeks before ‘the Belgians are handing over the reins of Congo government to the natives’:

God has set some in the church (Eph. 4:11) men of far-reaching vision and keen intelligence, men of integrity and wide sympathies, humble and caring for the needs of others before themselves. They don't want us to go but they are men of initiative and reliability, who can take over the reins entirely if and when we do have to go.<sup>38</sup>

He publishes here a picture of a group of the leaders, with the caption, “‘Men to be wondered at’ (Zech. 3: 8). Some of the Elders of the Luban churches.’<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hawkins, Newsletter, 18/08/1960.

<sup>38</sup> *CEMR* 283 (June 1960): 6. The power of the Spirit is underlined as he writes, ‘we make it a matter of prime urgency that our workers, both native and white, should be endued with Divine power, filled with the Spirit, worshipping God in unknown tongues as the Spirit gives them utterance.’ He adds that ‘these gospellers, impelled by Divine love, go seeking the lost to the farthest confines of the country. They are not mere men but are possessed by a power beyond themselves, so that they carry conviction and portray a Christ so real and glorious that sinners are drawn to him’.

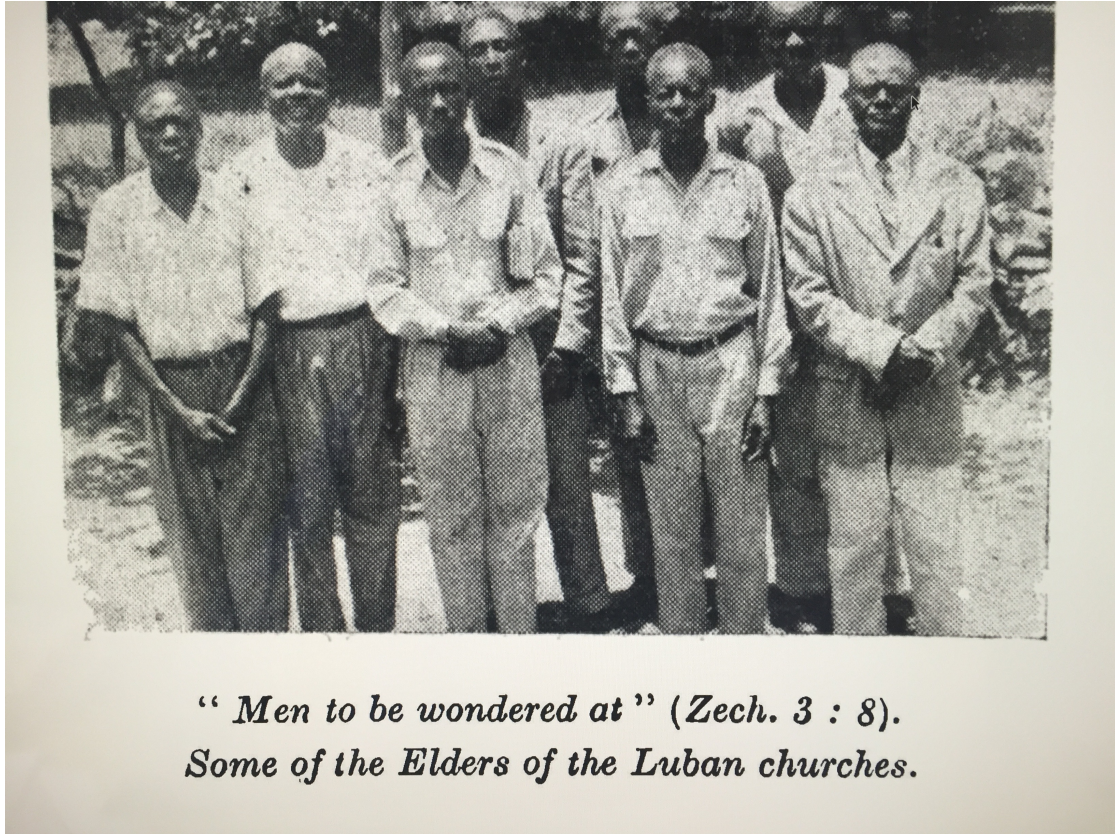
<sup>39</sup> *CEMR* 283 (June 1960): 5.



Figure 23

Burton's picture: 'Men to be wondered at'

Taken with permission from *CEMR* 283 (June 1960)



It is worth contrasting this photographic evidence of Burton's pre-Independence estimation of local agency with the post-Independence photo featuring both Womersleys and Joe Robinson with unnamed senior Congolese leaders, which accompanies David Womersley's article exactly twelve months later stating, 'The black keys still need the white keys for perfect harmony'.<sup>40</sup>

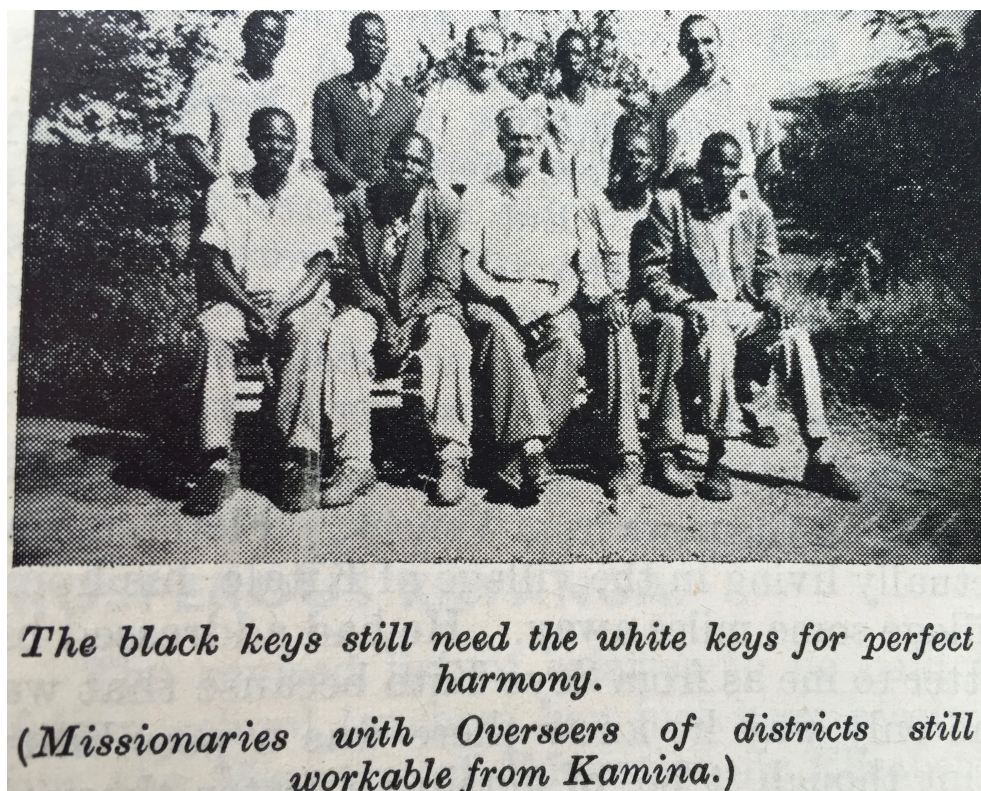
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<sup>40</sup> *CEMR* 295 (June 1961): 3. The line of seated people with another line standing is in keeping with many photographs of missionaries in *CEMR*. I cannot find any example of a group of only Congolese posing like this.

Figure 24

David Womersley's picture: 'The black keys still need the white keys'

Photo taken with permission from *CEMR* (June 1961)



Burton concludes his article, 'There is much for us missionaries still to do. The task is not yet complete'. Significantly, his next sentence leaves the reader in no doubt as to what mission he is referring to: 'Yet more and more we are training these dear folks to do without us'.<sup>41</sup>

As Independence approached, there was an increase in the references to training the Congolese. Berry opined that for 'many years there has been concentrated effort in training the Congolese to be pastors and teachers but now this has to be accentuated even more'.<sup>42</sup> To reassure *CEMR* readers that the CEM missionaries knew exactly what they were doing, Womersley reminds them, 'From the beginning, the C.E.M. has had as its declared aim, "to establish an indigenous church,"' although he honestly accepts, 'individual missionaries have perhaps varied in their manner of pursuing this policy'.<sup>43</sup> Womersley states in *CEMR* in September 1960, 'far-reaching steps have also been taken in the development of the work,

<sup>41</sup> *CEMR* 283 (June 1960): 6.

<sup>42</sup> *CEMR* 283 (June 1960): 23. This is Berry writing as *CEMR* editor.

<sup>43</sup> *CEMR* 286 (September 1960): 2.



preparing for the eventual transfer of all responsibility from the shoulders of the Europeans to the Congolese'. Brown wrote in September 1959 *CEMR* about 'making history' with the July 15th conference of Congolese and missionary delegates at Mwanza, but Womersley writes only twelve months later, 'For some time we have had joint delegated Conferences of white and black'.<sup>44</sup> The missionaries seem to read into their history a greater adherence to their commitment to indigenous church than the facts would portray. Womersley wrote how he had taken over the role of legal representative from Burton, and had been doing it for the last 27 years. He announced that he would share the role with Jonathan Ilunga and that the joint deputies would be Hawkins and Kayumba.<sup>45</sup>

### 6.1.1 Increasing Insecurities

Given the number of deaths on the field, CEM missionaries were already encouraged to write wills as a matter of course.<sup>46</sup> In the time leading up to the deaths of Knauf and Hodgson, political uncertainties were already exacerbating feelings of insecurity among the CEM missionaries with regard to their future. Did these thoughts give a fillip to any undeveloped altruistic aspirations of seeing Congolese agency actually governing the church? Any sense of impending danger for the missionaries was accentuated around Spring 1960 when 'a stranger' burst into the Kamina church meeting one day when Womersley was preaching and tried to knife him. A congregation who 'were 100 per cent with the missionary' overpowered him. He failed to get his knife out in time, but did strike Womersley and drew blood.<sup>47</sup>

The AOG OMC and CEM council made a joint statement in March 1960 with regard to the situation in Congo. It stated:

At this time of transition [...] it is our full purpose to hold steadily to our appointed task of carrying out the great commission to preach the Gospel to the Congolese, as to all mankind, as long as the doors remain open to us to do so.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *CEMR* 286 (September 1960): 3-4. Emphasis mine.

<sup>45</sup> *CEMR* 286 (September 1960): 3-4. Womersley here explains the role of Legal Representative, '[it] does not have its exact English equivalent, a position hitherto only held by a European, the office is that of a Legal Representative which channels all internal Mission matters to the Government, circulates Government information, to the Stations and is responsible for all lands, properties, schools, dispensaries, maternities and handles all Government reports and statistics'.

<sup>46</sup> Minutes of the Administrative Board Meeting, Kamina, No.6, 24/04/1956. The minute states, 'We would urge each missionary to review his or her will sending a signed and witnessed copy to the Field Secretary [...] many existing wills are completely out of date'. There is also an offer of help from the secretary 'should anyone desire assistance'.

<sup>47</sup> *CEMR* 283 (June 1960): 23.

<sup>48</sup> *RT* (04/03/1960): 13; *CEMR* 281 (April 1960): 13. Emphasis mine.



Hawkins, CEM secretary from November 1959,<sup>49</sup> believed the doors were closing for missionaries in Congo. He typed a newsletter on 18th August 1960 explaining to supporters how ‘in the last few months’ he had concentrated on Bible School work having ‘handed over all the other work to the Brethren on the Station [of Kongolo]’. He sees the ‘Brethren’ as being able to take charge. He continues, ‘since March [1960] they have been doing everything themselves as regards the Superintendence of the Ministry and the district’. He saw this as ‘giving them the experience and opportunity they needed’. Allowing the Congolese control over their own churches had always proved easier in theory than in practice for the CEM missionaries. There is a possible sense of surprise in Hawkins’s writing as he types his next sentence, ‘Our relationships with them were never sweeter’.<sup>50</sup>

Hawkins continues, referring to his return to Kongolo after having taken his wife and daughter away,

I am so happy now that I have been back there and found them all doing the job with seriousness and earnestness [...] As I view the situation, at present there is no room for the White man. They are underlining BLACK in every sphere [...] At the conference we will have some big decisions to make.<sup>51</sup>

There is ambiguity over the motivation for his leaving Kongolo that reflects the general picture; there is a mixture over a seemingly genuine desire to see an indigenous church and issues over safety for his own family and for Congolese Christians:

How could we stay there to bring our precious christians (sic) even to the place where they might be tempted to fight for us? [...] What would happen if they started to sack our homes and to violate our womenfolk before our very eyes? I know that some would try to stop it and endanger themselves in our interest.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Minutes of Administrative Board Meeting, Katombe, No.26, 24-26/11/1959. Hawkins went on eventually to become the OMC secretary for many years and later, with John Emmett, to serve together as the African directors on that council; see: Minutes of the OMC, Meeting 374, No.5b, 07/06/1963 welcoming Hawkins as the new Secretary to the OMC; Minutes of the OMC, Meeting 462, No.2, 07/07/1975 welcoming J.Emmett

<sup>50</sup> Hawkins, Newsletter, 18/08/1960.

<sup>51</sup> Hawkins, Newsletter, 18/08/1960. Emphasis his. He is referring to the forthcoming conference at the end of August 1960 that took place in Salisbury.

<sup>52</sup> Hawkins, Newsletter, 18/08/1960. Parallel to this, the AOG missionaries in Congo on the Kalembelembe field were benefitting from a big drive by AOG to get twenty thousands pounds for their vision. (This was launched by W.T.H. Richards at the General Conference held in Skegness in May 1959, and was named ‘Operation Advance’.) See: *RT* 35:26 (26/06/1959): 3; the amount of money is more appreciated when the ‘great missionary offering’ at that conference totaled £643; see: *RT* (20/05/1960): 6; Wesley Beardsmore, an AOG missionary in Congo is seen in a photo standing outside a large house with a grand-looking veranda. The caption heading says, ‘THIS IS THE KIND OF HOUSE OUR MISSIONARIES SHOULD HAVE’. It is then reported, ‘One of our missionaries writes: [Operation Advance] is coming as a great help and enabling us to think ahead

What was the primary motivation causing Hawkins to want to hand over power is a moot point. Perhaps the danger of remaining awakened a latent desire for indigenous church.

## 6.2 Salisbury: July, End of August and Start of September 1960

A meeting was held of 33 CEM missionaries in Salisbury (Harare) on July 21st 1960. This was following an evacuation mid-July with most missionaries flying from Kamina to Salisbury. Burton had only just returned to Mwanza after a brief visit to England. He had blackwater fever upon his return and had to suddenly leave at short notice taking with him only a small suitcase with a change of clothes and his Bible.<sup>53</sup> There were only four items in the minutes. The sense of danger of working in Congo is evident as minute number two is that:

[The] Heads of Stations, or a representative, form a party and go back to Congo, either by plane if possible, or by one hired car to Elisabethville and then by train to Kamina, with a view to finishing any outstanding business on the Stations and to get the cars to Rhodesia. All possessing cars at Kamina to have priority to go and get them out.<sup>54</sup>

Figure 25

Burton's house at Mwanza, c.1958

Photo Leslie Mantle: J.Emmett archives



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[...] our house has been a priority. Indeed we have received the remittance of £1,000 towards the cost of the building'. See: *RT* 36:21 (20/05/1960): 6. It was also reported here that the total in the fund had reached £7,017.

<sup>53</sup> *CEMR* 286 (September 1960): 17. Burton does not give an exact date for when he left Mwanza, David Womersley states he himself was evacuated from Kabongo on 12/07/1960; see: David Womersley, *The House*, 41.

<sup>54</sup> Record of the meeting held in Salisbury, 21/07/1960. This is simply recorded as 'a meeting', not a conference.

Minute number three simply states, 'Any who have opportunities of temporary work in Salisbury would be well-advised to take it immediately'.<sup>55</sup>

Burton was not at that first meeting; upon arriving he spent a week in Salisbury government hospital as a result of his blackwater fever.<sup>56</sup> At the end of August he was present at the three-day General Conference. 45 CEM missionaries, including Burton, all four Womersleys, Hodgson and the Knaufs, attended it. Salter came specially from the UK to chair it. Hawkins, CEM secretary at the time, recorded the minutes for that meeting.<sup>57</sup> Hawkins and Hodgson were both signatories to the reporting of all that was said at that conference and sent the report as a letter to all missionaries on furlough. In it they wrote the following as the declaration of the Conference:

[O]ur Congolese church has now shouldered its own responsibilities and is completely directed and controlled by its own Congolese leaders. These leaders are now in sole charge of all church funds, of all assembly organisation, appointing dismissing and paying of full-time Congolese workers. The missionary is no longer a Station or District superintendent but an Adviser or Counsellor to the Congolese church. He can no longer issue any orders but can give advice if it is required. Lest some of you think that this will make the missionary's position totally redundant, we suggest that the very presence of a limited number of missionaries acting as counsellors will give confidence to the African leaders for a time and will help to maintain a spiritual and organic unity. Without any European advisers there would be danger of the church dividing into innumerable splinter groups. The African pastors themselves, for the most part, request that a few experienced missionaries remain with them for this purpose. On the other hand we are rather sorry to note that most of our Africans have a diminishing respect for our newer inexperienced workers whom they feel have not had sufficient experience to give them the advice they need. They have also appointed their own legal representative and vice legal representative to act in all matters concerning the Congo church.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Record of the meeting held in Salisbury, 21/07/1960. The fourth minute refers to money 'for the School and Medical Funds still in Missionaries' hands to be paid into the Mission General Fund. If the situation improves, these moneys will be redistributed to the people concerned'.

<sup>56</sup> CEMR 286 (September 1960): 17. Burton had also spent four nights in hospital at Kamina airbase on his way to Salisbury.

<sup>57</sup> Minutes of the General Conference, Salisbury, 29-30th August and 1st September. John Bond, the then AOG pastor of the Salisbury church, remembers he had a call from the military airport saying, 'Seventy of your missionaries from the Congo are waiting here for somebody to fetch them'; see: Bond, J., 'W.F.P. Burton and some Congo Missionaries', accessed 07/07/2015, <http://www.nuparadigm.co.za/Bond%20Book/W%20F%20P%20Burton.html>. Bond makes it clear that of course, strictly speaking they were not 'his' missionaries, nevertheless he accommodated them all with members of his church.

<sup>58</sup> Walter Hawkins and Edmund Hodgson, letter to fellow-workers on furlough, 31/08/1960.

This is the CEM acknowledging prior to the deaths of Hodgson and Knauf that the Congolese church should now be viewed as self-governing. Hawkins' and Hodgson's writing of 'the threatened invasion of the Katanga' in the final words of this report show the fillip that gave towards this stance.<sup>59</sup> Some CEM missionaries were similar to the colonial government, caught unawares, and therefore prepared for independence too late.<sup>60</sup> Again, still before the deaths of Hodgson and Knauf, Womersley writes to *CEMR* readers accepting external factors were acting as drivers to an internal CEM goal, 'This mission has been working for many years towards an indigenous control and the proclamation of Independence has accelerated this programme until to-day the Congolese Church has completely shouldered its own responsibilities'.<sup>61</sup>

### 6.2.1 Decreasing Staff and Missionary Authority

In an official CEM 'brief report' of this Salisbury conference, Hawkins is again the summariser. It parallels the above letter to missionaries on furlough, except it is nuanced differently and echoes both his surprise at the 'sweet' relationships when he gave power to the Congolese at Kabongo and Burton's estimation of the Luban elders as 'Men to be wondered at':

We are no longer Station or District Superintendents, nor are we bosses of any kind. Everything is in the Native's hands. They are doing the job very well and better than we at first thought. OUR FIRST RE-ACTION MAY BE TO THINK THAT WE ARE REDUNDANT. Nevertheless, a few will help to maintain the unity of the church.<sup>62</sup>

Although Berry reported that at Salisbury, 'through the gifts of the Spirit we were encouraged to resume the work that God had given us to do',<sup>63</sup> the final paragraph of this brief report states, 'A much smaller staff will be required [...] It is not a question of running away, and we must not play foolish heroics'.<sup>64</sup> There is undeniably an expectation that the numbers of

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<sup>59</sup> Hawkins and Hodgson, letter to fellow-workers on furlough, 31/08/1960.

<sup>60</sup> A.A.J. Van Bilsen, 'Some Aspects of the Congo Problem', *International Affairs* 38:1 (January 1962): 41.

<sup>61</sup> *CEMR*, 289 (December 1960): 12.

<sup>62</sup> Brief Report of the Proceedings of the General Conference Held at Salisbury on the 29th, 30th, August and the 1st Sept 1960. Emphasis his.

<sup>63</sup> *CEMR* 288 (November 1960): 19. I asked David Womersley and Rowlands but they cannot tell me anything about this.

<sup>64</sup> Brief Report of the Proceedings of the General Conference Held at Salisbury on the 29th, 30th, August and the 1st Sept 1960. The reference to 'foolish heroics' echoed what Womersley had written in an account of his visit to some 'CEM posts' concerning the missionaries' position in the light of 'the troubles'; he wrote, 'there is

missionaries will be reduced. In another record of this conference there is acknowledgement that younger missionaries are not being shown any respect. It is reported, ‘the natives are rude towards younger missionaries and call them, “Kids”’. There is a proposition for ‘field staffing’ from the committee for staffing. This proposal reduces the number of CEM missionaries ‘down to seventeen, including missionaries, such as the Emmetts’, who were on furlough at the time.<sup>65</sup> Burton is present and the CEM as a whole is very much winding down its operations at the start of September and looking to support the final phase of indigenisation.

### **6.3 June-December 1960: The ‘Hodgson-Knauf Affair’<sup>66</sup>**

The CEM was certainly not the only faith mission to perceive sacrifice as fundamental to its philosophy. Ironically though, a certain chutzpah from CEM missionaries was perceptible when writing about sacrifice. Womersley believed the level of sacrifice of the CEM missionaries superseded that of ‘many other missionary societies’. He wrote about the four missionaries who had arrived in 1915 (Armstrong actually died of blackwater fever *en route*) and all who had served from then to the 74, who were the active CEM missionaries 45 years later:

A constant stream of young men and women are willing to sacrifice lucrative jobs and excellent earthly prospects to obey God’s call to the Congo to work in admittedly difficult circumstances under a constant strain and for an allowance considered a bare subsistence by not only worldly authorities but also by many other missionary societies.<sup>67</sup>

The ‘brave sacrifices’ of missionaries in ‘remote parts of Africa’ have been, unlike their African counterparts, on the whole ‘well chronicled’,<sup>68</sup> and this does not however, prevent admiration for the missionaries’ ‘selfless dedication, as many laid down their lives through

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no question of on the one hand of running away or on the other hand of indulging in heroics’. See: *CEMR* 288 (November 1960): 9. Womersley wrote this account on 17th August 1960.

<sup>65</sup> Congo Evangelistic Mission Conference Notes, 1960.

<sup>66</sup> Salter’s phrase to describe the murders in a letter to Womersley; see: Salter, letter to Womersley, 09/12/1960.

<sup>67</sup> *CEMR* 283 (June 1960): 13. Emphasis mine. Even as a 23-year-old CEM missionary in 1981 I can remember comparing notes with US Presbyterian missionaries and being amazed to discover the CEM level of support was a tiny fraction of what they received. The chutzpah from Womersley could have been especially in the light of ‘Operation Advance’; Womersley wrote this a month after the publication of the Beardsmore house photo.

<sup>68</sup> Anderson, *An Introduction*, 116.

the ravages of tropical disease and even martyrdom'.<sup>69</sup>

Hodgson who had arrived in Congo in 1920, and Elton Knauf who had arrived in 1937 from New Zealand<sup>70</sup> were 'in all probability murdered by the lawless Katanga Baluba youth'. Salter received this news in a letter dated 3rd December 1960 from the *Conseil Protestant du Congo*.<sup>71</sup> Salter described the deaths of Hodgson and Knauf to *CEMR* readers in January 1961, drawing on his own recent experience of those same youth, describing them as 'demonised, doped and drunken'. He based his account on David Womersley speaking to Christians from Lulungu, forty miles away from Mukaya where the murders happened.<sup>72</sup> Salter writes, 'Butchered they must have been'.<sup>73</sup> The bodies were never recovered. *The Times* also had reported that they had been tortured.<sup>74</sup> The news prompted Butler to write to Salter, 'We shudder at the thoughts of how they died'.<sup>75</sup> Monga believed they were eaten.<sup>76</sup>

Salter recounts how he was not at first concerned when he received a telegram from the Congo missionaries saying 'Hodgson Knauf missing please pray!' as he had been missing himself with Hodgson for about three weeks only two months earlier.<sup>77</sup> The second telegram left him with 'his hopes blasted'; it simply stated 'Hodgson and Knauf martyred'.<sup>78</sup>

### 6.3.1 The Fruit of Martyrdoms

Martyrdoms have always provided 'fine advertising for the causes for which they stood'.<sup>79</sup> The Hockleys expressed a desire for fruit from the Mukaya murders: 'We are praying and

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<sup>69</sup> Allan Anderson, 'The Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century', Lecture for the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, 05/10/2004, 7.

<sup>70</sup> *CEMR* 291 (February 1961): 2. It states here how the pentecostal churches in New Zealand had been very supportive of the CEM ever since Smith Wigglesworth and Salter had toured there in the late 1920s.

<sup>71</sup> Carle Thompson, letter on behalf of the *Conseil Protestant du Congo* to Salter, 03/12/1960. He had received brief telegrams prior to this.

<sup>72</sup> *CEMR* 290 (January 1961): 12.

<sup>73</sup> *CEMR* 290 (January 1961): 14.

<sup>74</sup> *The Times* (03/12/1960): 6.

<sup>75</sup> Butler, H., letter to Salter, 05/12/1960. Horace Butler was a CEM missionary from 1945-1970.

<sup>76</sup> Monga Ngoy, interview, 17/11/11. David Womersley believes such 'unsubstantiated' rumours were 'unfortunate' for the families concerned, writing, 'my father of all people would have been the one person to know, as would I'. See: David Womersley, *The House*, 53. David Womersley goes on to say how their bones were eventually found and buried in a shallow grave by 'a pastor from Kabongo'.

<sup>77</sup> *RT* 36:52 (23/12/1960): 4.

<sup>78</sup> *CEMR* 290 (13/01/1961): 14.

<sup>79</sup> Hanson, R. 'Martyrs and Propaganda' *Modern Churchman* 20:1 (01/01/1977): 9; see for example: 2,3,18: a pentecostal U.S. missionary of AG for 25 years, J.W. Tucker, was killed in 1964 and his body thrown into a 'crocodile-infested' river in Congo. One of Tucker's converts who remains unnamed preached in the area

believing that these sacrifices of our brethren will do something great for the church in Congo'.<sup>80</sup>

One has to ask whether these deaths promoted the cause of indigenous churches within 'Burton's mission' or fed into the ethnocentricity and paternalism lingering within some CEM missionaries? Did the case provoke a primal assessment, held by certain CEM missionaries, of seeing the Congolese as 'savages', which rather than promoting, undermined Burton's stated cause of seeking to establish indigenous churches? Womersley had been appointed legal representative of the CEM in August 1959; at the same time a vote of confidence had been given to Yesson acting as the first deputy legal representative.<sup>81</sup> Yesson's thoughts on independence and Belgian Christian values have already been cited above.

In his reporting of their deaths, Womersley explains how the Knaufs had been 'begged' by 'Congolese Christian workers' to leave Lulungu and stay at Kamina until tensions in the area calmed down. The Knaufs obliged and moved to Kamina after a handful of rebels had arrived at Lulungu and 'bullied' the Knaufs, taking their truck keys off them. The Congolese Christians bravely intervened and had the keys returned to the Knaufs. They then agreed to go to Kamina. After only two weeks at Kamina, Knauf wanted to take some medical supplies and return 'at least to his first outstation'. Knauf was 'strongly advised' not to go, but 'felt he ought to see to these matters'. Womersley simply writes, 'So brother Hodgson said he would go with him'. They left on 23rd November and were expected to return the same day. At 3pm that day they reached Mukaya 'and were immediately seized and threatened with death'. Knauf was offered freedom as he was recognised as the local missionary. Knauf refused to go free unless Hodgson were freed. That did not happen and both remained and were 'brutally killed'.<sup>82</sup>

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where he had been killed and there were thousands saved, hundreds healed and even reports of people being raised from the dead. This is seen as 'the fruit of martyrdom'.

<sup>80</sup> William and Beatrice Hockley, letter to Salter, 10/12/1960. Will and Beatrice Hockley were CEM missionaries from 1947-59 and 1971-81.

<sup>81</sup> Minutes of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, Nos.17 and 18, 17-22/08/1959.

<sup>82</sup> *CEMR* 290 (January 1961): 10-13. It is stated here that prior to this tragedy, two people working for the Cotton Company had been killed and Roman Catholic priests had been 'beaten to their knees'.

### 6.3.1.1 Publicity and Sympathy

The earlier comment about ‘fine advertising’ is sadly applicable here; the news in Britain was taken hold of by the newspapers. John Parker writing from the CEM office told Salter that ‘nearly all the newspapers in the country have been on the phone today’.<sup>83</sup> Salter appeared on ABC Television giving a five-minute interview.<sup>84</sup>

Salter received many letters at this time.<sup>85</sup> Aaron Linford, editor of *RT*, was one of the first to write, asking for a tribute for Hodgson with a photograph of him. He added, ‘I realise it is asking a lot at this time – but we wish to do honour to our esteemed brother’.<sup>86</sup> On the same day, George Jeffreys wrote to Salter saying he wanted Salter ‘and Pastor Willie Burton to know that our heartfelt sympathy goes out to you and the Congo Evangelistic Mission’.<sup>87</sup> John Carter imagining the future wrote, ‘I can particularly understand how very much you feel the loss of Brother Hodgson, seeing that he was one of those who would be shouldering the responsibility of the work when law and order had been restored’.<sup>88</sup>

Salter wrote on 9th December 1960 to Womersley and Robinson apologising for ‘this joint letter as I am absolutely snowed under at this end’. He had received twenty letters that day and had ‘a lot more looking at me’.<sup>89</sup> A letter, which could well have been among those he received that day, written on the eighth of December, was from Parr confirming that Bethshan Tabernacle in Manchester would be holding their own memorial service on the following Sunday 11th December. Salter had been asked to give the address.<sup>90</sup> More letters were still to come. Gee wrote the next day sensitively acknowledging, ‘[I] fully realize how very full these days must be for you’. As well as accepting to chair the memorial service to be held in London, he also offered to come to Preston too for the memorial service there, ‘if you

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<sup>83</sup> John Parker, letter to Salter, 02/12/1960.

<sup>84</sup> *RT* 36:51 (16/12/1960): 19; this was broadcast on 18/12/1960 as part of the ‘Sunday Break’ program.

<sup>85</sup> There are 55 extant original letters and 5 telegrams passed on to me by Hawkins, 13/12/2012.

<sup>86</sup> Aaron Linford, letter to Salter, 02/12/1960.

<sup>87</sup> George Jeffreys, letter, 02/12/1960.

<sup>88</sup> John Carter, letter to Salter, 06/12/1960.

<sup>89</sup> Salter, letter to Womersley and Joe Robinson, 09/12/1960. The 55 extant letters and telegrams from that time were kept for some reason by Hawkins, who passed them on to me when I interviewed him in December 2012.

<sup>90</sup> Nelson Parr, letter to Salter, 08/12/1960. Parr wrote, ‘I presume you will conclude your address with a short red hot Gospel appeal as I expect there will be many unsaved in the meeting’.



think my presence would be comforting or helpful in any way'.<sup>91</sup> Gee saw himself and Hodgson as having been “pen-pals” in Pentecostal friendship’ for over forty years.<sup>92</sup>

### 6.3.1.2 Hostile Reactions

Given Womersley’s position as legal representative, the language used in his reporting of the murders in *CEMR* is disturbing. Womersley explains why Knauf was offered freedom and not Hodgson. Hodgson was from another region and ‘was not known by these local savages’.<sup>93</sup> It is understandable that emotions must have been running high at this time. Nevertheless, the word ‘savages’, used as a noun, is not used in *CEMR* at all in the immediately preceding years, and the last time it was used in *CEMR* was four years previously.<sup>94</sup> I can find no example of it ever being used as a noun in *CEMR* following this occasion by Womersley. Womersley was the senior missionary on the field. In 1940 Burton had complained when writing to Lillie about ‘Folk [who] call them “naked savages”’, and added, ‘but I can assure you they are very dear to God and to us’.<sup>95</sup>

Don Gordon also provides an example of a missionary using similar language towards the Congolese when he wrote personally to Salter in the aftermath of the killings. He explained to Salter how he personally knew Mukaya well and ‘never thought they had the savagery in them’. He continues his letter demonstrating a reactionary attitude towards both state and church notions of self-government:

I'm afraid it takes me all my time to hold down bitterness in my soul against the African. We've done so much for them + yet they would murder 2 of the best men we have in cold blood + savagery as soon as they get their “so called” independence [...] they were as adamant against our advice + goodness to them as any one at the beginning in pushing out + grabbing this ridiculous independence. However may the Lord undertake and give us the victory.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Gee, letter to Salter, 10/12/1960.

<sup>92</sup> RT 36:52 (23/12/1960): 5.

<sup>93</sup> *CEMR* 290 (January 1961): 12.

<sup>94</sup> *CEMR* 243 (February 1957): 6. Alfred Brown wrote of ‘young naked savages’ being taught to read by Bronwen Womersley. The word was used by Womersley in previous editions of *CEMR* such as *CEMR* 93 (March-April 1942): 707; *CEMR* 132 (November 1947): 1165.

<sup>95</sup> Burton, letter to Lillie, 07/09/1940. Burton is referring here to an ‘an old man who can neither read nor write, lecturing his little son and daughter’, to write down everything Burton was writing on blackboard for church members at Mwanza. Burton adds, that the old man says to them, “‘Eh! This is honey.” (drawing his finger across his mouth as if he were sucking honey from the comb). “When we get home I shall expect you to read it to me again and again.””

<sup>96</sup> Don Gordon, letter to Salter, 10/12/1960. Don Gordon had been a CEM missionary from 1949 and returned with his wife Violet to Congo in 1982, staying until 1995.

These ‘us and them’ feelings of supremacy need to be put in context. In 1958 the Belgian colonial government had seriously taken hold of a previous academic proposal, made three years earlier, to grant independence to Congo over a period of thirty years.<sup>97</sup> The author of that proposal later disputatiously wrote of seeing the Congolese in 1959 enjoying ‘well-being’ while the white population enjoyed wealth as a sign of the ‘triumph of paternalism’.<sup>98</sup> Commenting on this paternalism, one commentator in 1960 states, ‘The Belgians worked very hard *for* [...] the Congolese; they were not adept at working *with* them’.<sup>99</sup>

### 6.3.1.3 Gracious Responses

Burton was in East London, South Africa at the time of the murders<sup>100</sup> trying to master the Afrikaans language. Burton wrote to Salter, ‘A wire has just arrived telling the bare fact that Teddy & Elton have been murdered’. He continued by giving his response to the killing of Hodgson and Knauf, which has a conspicuously different tone to those who wrote of savages and savagery; it is worth remembering Burton had known Hodgson as a missionary for forty years:

For a man of Teddy's temperament, undaunted by danger and passionately in love with the black folk, perhaps it was as good a death as he could die. He sealed with his blood his devotion to them [...] Naturally it is a fearful blow to us all. Specially must it be so to his little folk [...] How much I have found myself wishing that it was all a horrible mistake and that Teddy & Elton were alive after all. We can only bow to Him who knows best, and feel that, as in the death of His own dear Son, it was in “due time”.<sup>101</sup>

Burton was not flattering Hodgson when he referred to him being ‘undaunted by danger’. He was only concurring with Hodgson who gave that impression and told an audience in Exeter in 1958, ‘So right from the beginning I've never known what fear is, but I've known that perfect love casts out fear’.<sup>102</sup> Gee also seemed to have a similar tone to Burton’s when writing of Hodgson’s death being ‘glorious in its spiritual quality. He has been martyred in

<sup>97</sup> J. Gahama, ‘Décolonisations comparées’, *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 42:1 (April -June, 1994): 103.

<sup>98</sup> Van Bilsen, A.A.J., ‘Some Aspects’ of the Congo Problem,’ 41.

<sup>99</sup> Wayland Carpenter, ‘Collapse in Congo: the price of paternalism’, in *Christianity and Crisis* 20:15 (19/09/1960): 128-132.

<sup>100</sup> He was staying at the home of Owen Saunders (who had married Hettie Burton's sister). Saunders was a builder who among other things, built a block of flats in Johannesburg that was eventually sold and the money invested in funds in the UK into the Raggatt Fund, which provides CEM missionaries who have served the CEM for over 20 years with a pension.

<sup>101</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 05/12/1960.

<sup>102</sup> Hodgson, audio recording, 1958. J.Emmett archives

the heart of his beloved Congo where he had made his home for forty years, in the act of trying to visit and strengthen his spiritual children at a calculated risk of his life'.<sup>103</sup>

Six years later in his commentary to a set of magic lantern slides, Burton again does not sensationalise the incident, he says:

Unfortunately Brothers Hodgson and Knauf learned that the maternity hospital in Lulungu was without disinfectant and powdered milk for the undernourished babies. So, despite the fact that we begged them not to they went back and lost their lives. They were stopped and never even reached their destination.<sup>104</sup>

Burton then quickly points out the difference between the missionaries and the Congolese Christians at the time, 'It wasn't only the white man, the native Christians suffered *and they could not escape*'.<sup>105</sup>

### 6.3.2 Marcel's Reaction

Marcel wrote to Rowlands and Rhodes from Kipushya and gave some details about the murders, linking them to more than political affiliation, but also to what CEM missionaries would refer to as 'the powers of darkness'.<sup>106</sup> Marcel writes, 'The rebel youths [...] wear a wildcat skin on their foreheads and follow the powerful charm of a certain woman from Manono (although some say she is from Ankoro)'.<sup>107</sup>

Marcel is in keeping with Stéphane Makaba, an aged Christian from Lulungu. Makaba reports those who murdered Hodgson and Knauf had soaked themselves in what they believed to be a magic potion that would protect them against any weapon. Makaba adds the gruesome details of the bodies being cut up, cooked and eaten, corroborating what Monga

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<sup>103</sup> RT 36:52 (23/12/1960): 6. Gee actually had his facts wrong, believing Hodgson was attempting to travel to Kikondja, nevertheless his sentiment stands.

<sup>104</sup> W.F.P. Burton, 'I've a story to tell to the nations', reel to reel tape recording, sixty minutes long, J.Emmett archives, digitised by Matthew Stephenson, 18/08/2015.

<sup>105</sup> Burton, 'I've a story', audio. Emphasis his, based on the volume and tone of his voice.

<sup>106</sup> CEMR 268 (March 1959): 268. J.Emmett serves as an example of this, writing here about the western influence on the 'witchdoctor's business' with 'coca cola bottles [...] filled with the old time rubbish'. He is particularly distressed to discover that three Congolese had paid twenty pounds each for a sheet of paper with green handwriting on it; when ill, they were told to put the paper into water, which unsurprisingly would turn green. They then had to drink the water and be healed.

<sup>107</sup> CEMR 292 (March 1961): 10. Marcel adds in this letter reported in CEMR, that she is reported to have four eyes, two in front and two behind. This charm has influenced the whole of the Baluba near to the Basongye, and around Kongolo, Sentery and Kabalo. Burton refers to the scraped stomachs of wild cats being used in charms, Burton, *Luba*, 102.

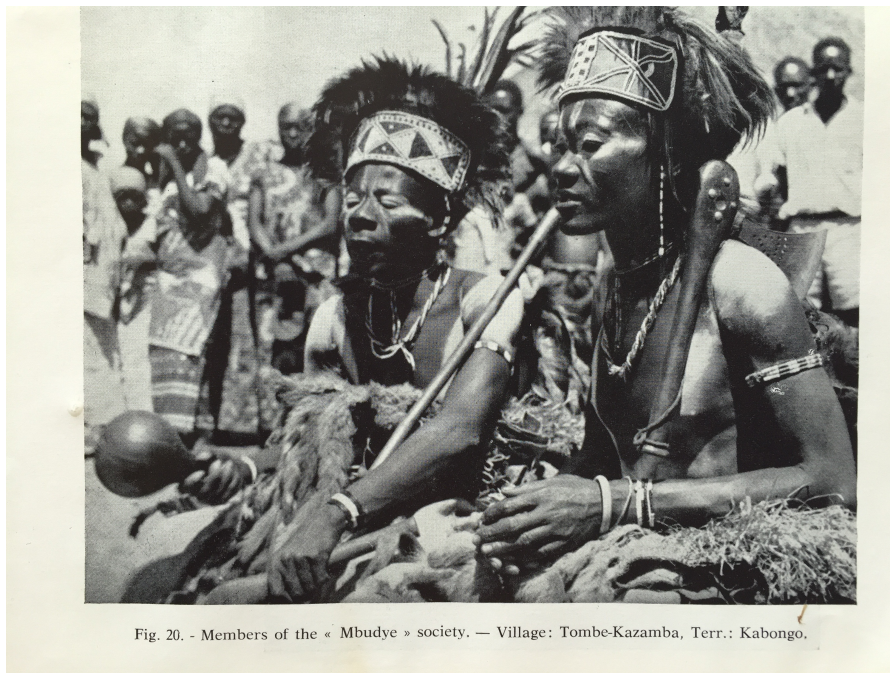
also had reported. Makaba also states all who ate, some from Lulungu as well as those from Mukaya, died within a couple of years.<sup>108</sup> This is in keeping with David Womersley remembering his father telling him that all seven men implicated in the murders died soon ‘in a particularly violent or macabre way’ with two going insane.<sup>109</sup>

Marcel’s writing is reinforced when examining Burton's understanding of the use of charms. Burton lists the charms used by Chief Kabenga (a representative Luba chief whom Burton describes as ‘no more, and no less enlightened than the average Luba chief’), one of them includes a ‘reed-buck horn filled with charms and sealed with a piece of wild-cat skin, having the hair attached’. Licking the hair is said to give strength;<sup>110</sup> also Burton includes two photographs of Mbudye officials in *Luba*, they are pictured wearing wild-cats’ skins.<sup>111</sup>

Figure 26

Members of the Mbudye Society wearing wild-cat skins

Photo from Luba Religion



<sup>108</sup> Stéphane Makaba, telephone interview from Lulungu with Claude Kapenga in Lubumbashi, 23/08/2015. *The New Zealand Evangel* reported that Knauf’s body was found on the shores of Lake Tanganyika on the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1960; see *New Zealand Evangel* 1:5 (1960) cited in Tim King, *In Search of Ophir: The History of the Assemblies of God in Zimbabwe 1952-1985* (Preston: Tim King Leadership Institute, 2016), 45 n.43.

<sup>109</sup> David Womersley, *The House*, 54. David Womersley admits here that fifty years later he cannot remember all the details passed on to him by his father.

<sup>110</sup> Burton, *Luba*, 113-114.

<sup>111</sup> Burton, *Luba*, figures 20 and 21.

Marcel locates the source of the killings in powers of darkness rather than in any white versus black confrontation. In seeing a spiritual dimension to the affair, Marcel is more in line with the thinking of Burton and Gee than of Womersley and Gordon.

The tragic deaths of Hodgson and Knauf seemingly galvanised some CEM missionaries into an attitude of resilience towards their continuing missionary presence in Congo. Salter finished his address at the joint memorial service for Hodgson and Knauf, in the words of the *RT* reporter, by summing up ‘the spirit of CEM’, saying, ‘We’ll go back again as soon as the way opens’.<sup>112</sup> The ‘spirit of the CEM’ begs the question whether these deaths and the reactions they provoked militated against a long-held desire within Burton to see the CEM missionaries move on?

### **6.3.3 Could the ‘Hodgson-Knauf Affair’ Have Been Avoided?**

The prospects of CEM missionaries working outside of Congo were even discussed at the Salisbury General Conference. It was minuted that ‘Brothers Hodgson, Knauf, Berry, Robinson and Dalby investigate thoroughly the opportunities of doing native work on the Copperbelt on their way up to the Congo’.<sup>113</sup> This was a General Conference decision to explore the possibilities of working in Northern Rhodesia made with Burton and Salter both present. Rowlands remembers this being discussed, but cannot remember ‘anything being done about it’.<sup>114</sup> In later correspondence it seems Burton had been the driving force behind this proposal. Salter wrote privately to Robinson straight after the news of the murders. He wrote how Burton had written to him ‘very strongly’ about ‘the decision’ that had been made at the Salisbury Conference. Salter states Burton had written earlier that he knew ‘a number of powerful chiefs in Northern Rhodesia was awaiting for the arrival of our folks and would give them a great welcome’ and had ‘suggested that Brother Hodgson should lead a party of our folk over there’. Salter continues, ‘Now that Teddy is dead he may think that we have missed a great opportunity’. Salter then presses Robinson, ‘Has anything been done about that proposition and if so what. (sic)’.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> *RT* 37:3 (13/01/1961): 5. This memorial service was held in in Bloomsbury Central Baptist Church.

<sup>113</sup> Minutes of the General Conference held at Salisbury, No. 15, 29th & 30th August and 1st September 1960.

<sup>114</sup> Rowlands, email, 06/07/2015.

<sup>115</sup> Salter, letter to Robinson, 03/12/1960.

As stated earlier, Salter had been with Hodgson visiting Kikondja just two months before Hodgson died. Burton wrote to the Leemings, just over a month before Hodgson and Knauf were killed, and complained to the Leemings about Salter and Hodgson making that trip: 'I was tremendously relieved that Bro's Hodgson and Salter got out of Kikondja. It was right against my advice that they went back there'.<sup>116</sup> One can only speculate as to what might have happened had Burton been at Kamina on 23rd November.

#### 6.4 Time to Close the CEM?

With Hodgson and Knauf dead, and perhaps still with Burton's 'very strongly' tone ringing in his mind, Salter continues to Robinson, this time going much further in his questioning than Burton's proposal to open up opportunities for CEM missionaries to work in Northern Rhodesia, but rather questioning the future of the CEM:

This brings me to another point and I have already written to Harold Womersley about it. Are you folks in the Congo and Rhodesia giving any serious thought as to the future of the Mission? Have you any hope that in the near future some of you at the least may be able to return to the Congo? Have you any plans about this and how many of the present staff do you think that you can utilise in your plans for the future? Do you not think it is full time that something was done about some of the folks and advise that it might be better if they were released [...] I have mentioned to Bro. Womersley suggestions that are now among the folks. 1. Do the present happenings indicate that the CEM work is finished in the Congo? 2. Should the Mission continue with a reduced and specialised number of missionaries? 3. Should we go back to Congo with a specific plan to finalise the work. (A) in specialised training for the Congolese as Bible training etc. having an understanding from the outset that we are with them for a definite period only at the end of which they must take over the full responsibility for the Work as it stands. That would mean that you and we at this end would have to carry on with that definite end in view. What you folks wish to do afterwards would have to be amicably settled as necessity arose.<sup>117</sup>

Salter unequivocally doubts the future of the CEM.

Burton continued in South Africa in 1961, saying he had 'sufficient engagements to take him through 1961'.<sup>118</sup> From there he wrote an article for CEMR entitled 'They that were scattered abroad' from Acts 8:1. He points out that Jesus had said to his disciples in Acts 1:8 that they would be witnesses to the uttermost parts of the earth. He asks the question, 'Were they hanging too much around [...]?' He then describes how following Stephen's martyrdom they

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<sup>116</sup> Burton, letter to Leemings, 19/10/1960.

<sup>117</sup> Salter, letter to Robinson, 03/12/1960.

<sup>118</sup> CEMR 292 (March 1961): 5.

were scattered because of persecution and preached in several places because ‘That glorious message was burning in their bones’. The parallel with the CEM after the deaths of Hodgson and Knauf is clear to him: ‘The C.E.M. missionaries have carried the message of life to Nyasaland, to Northern and Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and continued their testimony in Great Britain and Belgium. The scattering has only spread the fire’.<sup>119</sup> Burton’s writing, and implicit criticism of those who hang around too much is in sharp contrast to much that is written about the ‘spirit of the CEM’ around this time. In the same issue Robinson writes of his return to Kamina saying how ‘reluctant’ he had been to leave in the first place.<sup>120</sup> Womersley writes about his excitement at seeing the Robinsons and David and Bronwen Womersley bringing up the numbers to seven at Kamina.<sup>121</sup>

Privately, about the same time Burton had written to the Atkinsons in Preston:

I incline to believe that the door is definitely, finally closed. For 45 years we have laid a solid foundation. Now we have left hundreds of splendid, Spirit-filled native leaders, men of consecration & keen intelligence to build upon the foundation. I believe a glorious Spirit-filled church will rise from Congo to meet the Lord Jesus in the air.<sup>122</sup>

Burton adds, ‘I am praying much for God’s will to be made so plain that there can be no doubting, as we meet with Brothers Salter, Womersley and the rest, to discuss the future of the C.E.M. There are tremendous issues involved’.<sup>123</sup>

#### **6.4.1 Burton and Womersley in the UK**

In 1961 Burton and Womersley ended up spending over two months in the UK visiting churches. Womersley states he spoke eighty times in 63 different churches.<sup>124</sup> The first month Burton and Womersley were together all the time; in the second month they occasionally were together for ‘various rallies and conventions’.<sup>125</sup> Burton explains that Womersley spoke ‘chiefly’ about ‘the killing of Hodgson and Knauf’ and about ‘the amazing pluck of David Womersley in taking his life in his hands to visit the area again and again’ so as to ‘get

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<sup>119</sup> *CEMR* 294 (May 1961): 9.

<sup>120</sup> *CEMR* 294 (May 1961): 1.

<sup>121</sup> *CEMR* 294 (May 1961): 4.

<sup>122</sup> Burton, letter to the Atkinsons, 27/02/1961. This letter was written in February, there was at least a gap of two months between an article being written and published in *CEMR*.

<sup>123</sup> Burton, letter to the Atkinsons, 27/02/1961.

<sup>124</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 1.

<sup>125</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 2.

accurate news of their death'. Burton adds that Womersley then spoke of 'the service that still awaits the C.E.M. in the Congo [and how] our missionaries are preparing to leave for Congo shortly'. It is interesting to note that both in his own report and in Burton's report of what he talked about, Womersley is not reported as mentioning anything about the Congolese. After this, Burton then immediately and contrastingly writes,

I was then able to follow, giving a more comprehensive long range view of the Mission's activities, by which the Gospel has been preached to thousands of villages and over a thousand christian (sic) churches established, how our evangelists have been trained in Bible Schools and how many thousands of heathen have burned their charms and idols, while hardly a river or stream in the country has been without its baptismal services. Christians educated in our schools are now occupying some important positions in that vast land. I have told of glorious revivals and outpourings of the Spirit, of amazing miracles of healing, of how the schools, dispensaries and maternities are contributing to the spread of the Gospel.<sup>126</sup>

All this builds up to Burton writing, conceivably with a note of triumph,

I have won praise for God by showing that the Africans are more and more making their christian (sic) church self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating, thus leaving the missionary free in an advisory capacity and to train believers in Bible Schools and the teachers in Teacher Training Institutes.<sup>127</sup>

In his final paragraph, Burton enigmatically writes, 'Good-bye, Brother Womersley!'.<sup>128</sup> It could be interpreted that Burton is reporting about the two months spent with Womersley. However, is Burton meaning something more than that? It is conceivable from all the above that Burton and Womersley were not agreeing on the future of the CEM.

Burton in 1959 had moved from being the 'Field Director' to becoming the 'Honorary Field Director' and Hodgson the Field Superintendent.<sup>129</sup> Womersley became the 'Field Superintendent' in January 1961, taking over from Hodgson.<sup>130</sup> Was Burton, aged 75, not so much handing over the CEM to Womersley, but acknowledging he was no longer going to see his desires fulfilled with Womersley taking more control? Burton had also written to the

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<sup>126</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 3.

<sup>127</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 3.

<sup>128</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 4.

<sup>129</sup> Minutes of the General Field Council of the CEM, Kabongo, Nos.17 and 18, 17-22/08/1959.

<sup>130</sup> Minutes of the CEM meeting held in Kitwe, No.1, 11/01/1961; *CEMR* 292 (March 1961): 15. Both Womersley and David Womersley took this very seriously. Harold wrote an article in *CEMR* not naming himself, just as being written by 'The Field Superintendent'. David Womersley as editor of *CEMR* informs readers there is an article written by the 'Field Superintendent'. See: *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 6, 19. I cannot find any examples of either Burton or Hodgson being referred to simply by that title.



Leemings about his advice being ignored by Hodgson and Salter's visit to Kikondja. Burton encouraged the Leemings, not to hold out with the 'CEM spirit' for doors to open in Congo, but said he was 'glad that' they were 'considering going over to do evangelism in poor dark Belgium'.<sup>131</sup>

Three months after writing 'Good-bye, Brother Womersley!'<sup>132</sup> Burton writes an open letter in *CEMR* December 1961. He writes thanking God that 'the door has remained open for our precious band of missionaries at Kamina'. However, he is unequivocal about his own position:

For me, however, the door is definitely shut at present, and since the Lord Jesus reveals Himself as "HE THAT OPENETH AND NO MAN SHUTTETH; AND SHUTTETH AND NO MAN OPENETH," Rev.3,7. I must look beyond all human agencies and recognise that He has closed the door.<sup>133</sup>

He goes to write of his 'great joy' of doing Bible teaching in 'Rhodesia, South Africa and Great Britain, giving simple Bible talks on major themes'. He moves on to the 'C.E.M. band' who are not able to return to Congo. He acknowledges that 'some are breaking their hearts to get back' and then writes,

what gives me great satisfaction is that they are able to fit into new niches of life so well. Some have taken the pastorate of assemblies or other forms of Christian activity. Others have found congenial employment each in his or her own particular sphere, so that God has made lovely provision for them. Moreover everywhere they continue to win souls.<sup>134</sup>

Whilst paying lip-service to those continuing at Kamina, Burton's uncertainty about the future of CEM is evident. There has been within him an underlying questioning of the role of the missionaries since 1929.<sup>135</sup> Burton had questioned then whether or not it was time for the missionaries to 'move on to still untouched areas' and said of Congolese towns and villages that they were 'better acquainted with the gospel than a large proportion of our English towns

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<sup>131</sup> Burton, letter to the Leemings, 19/10/1960. Burton did not use the words 'CEM spirit' in this letter.

<sup>132</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 3-4.

<sup>133</sup> *CEMR* 301 (December 1961): 16-17. Emphasis his.

<sup>134</sup> *CEMR* 301 (December 1961): 16-17.

<sup>135</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929. This has been cited previously: 'that we have come to seek God's lost sheep, but above all we have come to set on foot a church: a self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting native church. [...] Most of these hundreds of assemblies now have their own elders or leaders who teach, exercise discipline, administer the money gifts of the saints and take the lead generally'.

and villages' were.<sup>136</sup> 32 years later is Burton quite happy to say not only, 'Good-bye, Brother Womersley!',<sup>137</sup> but also 'Good-bye, CEM!'. The days of missionary control and even the need for the CEM were coming to an end as far as Burton was concerned. For Burton, it was a case of 'AND SHUTTETH AND NO MAN OPENETH'.<sup>138</sup>

#### 6.4.2 Congolese Confidence

In 1963, Congolese leaders held a conference at Katombe where they passed a minute stating, 'We agree to the return of the missionaries but whatever missionary who refuses to obey what we want must not come'.<sup>139</sup> This textures the repeated statements in *CEMR* around the time stating that the Congolese wanted the missionaries back.<sup>140</sup> Indeed, to have the missionaries back for some would mean vacating the houses that the missionaries had built. This, the Congolese were willing to do. While stating that the houses were 'theirs' (the missionaries), they believed it was time to ask them to 'build houses for us too'.<sup>141</sup>

A month after the Katombe Conference, there was another conference held in Kamina where Beseka chaired and Butler recorded the minutes. As leaders together they could not have been more explicit in stating their desire to be self-governing; they agreed to 'receive into our hands matters of finance (church educational and medical) and whatever may come in the future from Europe designated to the Church will be handed to us'. At the same conference, Jonathan Ilunga was appointed legal representative with two deputies (Yosefa Maloba and Pierre Nzadi) and two missionaries were appointed as advisors to them (Harold and David Womersley).<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 21/01/1929.

<sup>137</sup> *CEMR* 298 (September 1961): 4.

<sup>138</sup> *CEMR* 301 (December 1961): 16. Burton aged 75, wrote here that he had no desire 'to settle down'. He also states in this open letter how the 'Katanga Government has made a generous grant for the dependants of our martyred brethren Hodgson and Knauf, and in other ways they are even better provided for than when their fathers were living'.

<sup>139</sup> Minutes of the Katombe Conference, No.3, 20/7/1963, These minutes have been translated by a missionary, but who translated them is not recorded, the emphasis is as on the translated minute.

<sup>140</sup> *CEMR* 302 (January 1962): 2; *CEMR* 301 (December 1961): 8.

<sup>141</sup> Minutes of the Katombe Conference, No.10, 20/07/1963,

<sup>142</sup> Minutes of the Kamina Conference, No.1, 16-19/08/1963. The difficulty with which missionaries accepted change is seen in a minute passed at one of their MC meeting in November 1964; in it they decided that 'in view of the present strain of missionary life, we reduce the normal term of service from four years to three years'; see: MC Minutes of meeting held at Kipushya, No.6a, 23/11/1964,

### 6.4.3 Burton Moves to Close Down the Congo Evangelistic Mission

On August 13th 1964 Burton sent a proposal for an article to be published in *CEMR* to the 'Womersleys, Robinsons and Salter'. In the accompanying letter to them he starts, 'We are faced by hard, brutal facts'. By calling the facts 'hard' and 'brutal' he seems to position himself on the side of those who want to continue in Congo. He then writes something which must have been a fulfilment of any idealistic aspirations towards his own version of what he had once referred to as 'Allenism': 'All our white missionaries are off their stations and the native churches well & fairly on their own feet.' Burton is stating, in his view, the ideal of indigenous church in Congo is no longer an aspiration, but a fact, which some may find 'brutal'. Burton softens any possible callousness of seeing missionaries made redundant by pointing out the Raggatt Trust is now ready to pay interest into the CEM pension funds, 'so our older workers are cared for'. He then reiterates what was discussed in 1959, 'The natives do not want the younger missionaries', but adds something no one was saying five years previously, 'The older ones are at "*fin de carrière*"'. He continues, wanting to distance himself from a possible metamorphosis of what people had referred to as 'Burton's mission':<sup>143</sup>

We are NOT called to medical or educational service, except as a means of evangelising. The Congo Govt. directs, so it should pay for hygiene & education. God did not call us for that. IT IS NOT OUR JOB [...] Bro. Salter CAN NOT carry on longer. I envisaged Bro. Womersley to replace him, but it's not necessary, for there will be no mission to direct [...] If any missionaries wish to continue educational work, let them do it under the Congo Government, instead of under the C.E.M. [...] Let me know your prayerful reaction to the above.<sup>144</sup>

Burton's attachment is proposed for the readership of *CEMR*, 'We have, from the inception of the Congo church, seen that it must eventually stand on its own feet. Indeed we have trained it for that'. He writes how the missionaries stayed as long as they could, but then writes, 'The Congo church was never stronger than at present. Tried by torture, fire and sword, it has come out as shining gold and still goes on from strength to strength'. He then views all the work done by missionaries in hospitals and schools from his perspective, writing, 'while we have used them to advance the gospel, yet these really are the responsibility of the Congo Governm't and are being financed and directed by them'. Burton praises the missionaries, calling them, 'As splendid a group of white workers as one could

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<sup>143</sup> MPMU No.7, 12/01/1923.

<sup>144</sup> Burton, letter to Womersleys, Robinsons and Salter, 13/08/1964.

find [who have] given the best years of their lives for Christ and Congo'.<sup>145</sup> Burton then uses the same biblical reference he once used in 1933 to aver the 'white missionaries [are] a mere passing phase in the introduction of Christianity to a heathen people. Thus Paul [...] said, "I have no more room in these parts" (Rom. xv.23)'.<sup>146</sup> He added in 1933 that the 'ideal is not altogether attainable at first, but at least it should be kept in view as a goal', further adding 'anything less' than 'a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating church' could only be viewed as 'an evidence of immaturity'.<sup>147</sup> The choice for Burton always was the ideal of indigenisation or the frustration of perceived immaturity. 31 years later, Burton's use of this verse is more robust, unequivocally proposing closing down the CEM:

They [the missionaries] would still give more were it necessary, but we say with Paul, when he had established his Corinthian church "I have no more place in these parts". Rom.15.23. Our task is accomplished. The future is with the Congolese themselves.<sup>148</sup>

Burton knew that pentecostal missionaries, as mentioned above, had hero status in the UK. He wants to show the pentecostal *CEMR* readers that they need not be concerned over the future of their protagonists. He writes that the younger missionaries 'have found congenial occupations elsewhere' and stresses this is not the end of their ministry by writing, 'and are still spreading the gospel testimony, each in his or her own particular sphere'. He then adds, 'As for the older missionaries, in addition to the Government Old Age Pension, the C.E.M. pension scheme is able to provide something extra in their remaining years'.<sup>149</sup>

Burton concludes this proposed article for CEMR, by thanking the 'assemblies and individuals [who] have stood splendidly with us by your prayers and gifts. Now though the gifts are no longer required, we trust that the prayers will still continue, for those brave suffering Congo churches'.<sup>150</sup>

#### 6.4.3.1 Womersley Responds

Burton must have realised his proposal would provoke discussion among the missionaries as he had offered the fourth of September as a last date for meeting up to talk and had added, 'if

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<sup>145</sup> W.F.P. Burton, 'Proposed for the C.E.M. Report', Single page handwritten document, 13/08/1964.

<sup>146</sup> W.F.P. Burton, *When God Changes a Village* (London: Victory Press, 1933), 127.

<sup>147</sup> Burton, *When God Changes a Village*, 128. Emphasis mine.

<sup>148</sup> Burton, 'Proposed'.

<sup>149</sup> Burton, 'Proposed'. He is referring to the Raggatt Trust fund.

<sup>150</sup> Burton, 'Proposed'.

later than that, then I can not attend'.<sup>151</sup> Who the recipients of the covering letter and proposed article really were, becomes clear when looking at Harold and Josie Womersley's joint response. Writing from Birmingham, Womersley adds a handwritten note at the top of the typewritten page, 'Copies to Bro Salter & any to whom you have sent this letter'. Suspecting Burton of having sent it to more recipients than those named, he adds writing down the side of the page, 'We could come for a talk on Aug 24th, 25th, or 26th but not on Sept 4th, we shall be in the South. Please do not mention in conversation with anyone what you have proposed in this letter'.<sup>152</sup>

Womersley tells Burton that his letter and proposal caused himself and Josie 'deep distress'.<sup>153</sup> He implicates Salter in Burton's writing when he writes about a meeting, which took place on 4th August where 'Bro. Parker's official report of the meeting' said, 'AFTER REVIEWING THE CONDITIONS AND PRESENT SITUATION IT WAS DECIDED WE AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS'.<sup>154</sup> He then adds, 'No further developments have taken place'. Womersley is clearly disappointed believing Burton, probably along with Salter, are ignoring the decisions made at a meeting on 4th August. Womersley then becomes very critical of what he calls Burton's 'actions', this in spite of Burton having written in his covering letter concerning what he had called a 'proposal': 'I am inclined to put the accompanying letter in the C.E.M. Report, but would not do so of course, unless the other missionaries agree'.<sup>155</sup> Womersley is offended as he writes to Burton about how at that meeting he remembered Burton's words as:

approximately as follows, "If the time comes to close the work it must be done carefully and gradually, NOTHING MUST BE DONE PRECIPITATELY." This new action is nothing if not precipitate. Why was nothing said in the meeting? The work is too big to be closed on a personal conversation between two brethren.<sup>156</sup>

Womersley then resolves to show some regard, and adds, 'even if those two brethren be Brother Burton and Brother Salter whom we all deeply respect, and always will as our

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<sup>151</sup> Burton, letter to Womersleys, Robinsons and Salter, 13/08/1964.

<sup>152</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964.

<sup>153</sup> The letter is signed off as from 'Harold and Josie' in Harold's writings. I will refer to it as Womersley's responses, but for this letter only Womersley in the main text refers to Harold and Josie.

<sup>154</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964. Emphasis his.

<sup>155</sup> Burton, letter to Womersleys, Robinsons and Salter, 13/08/1964.

<sup>156</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964. Emphasis his.

pioneers'.<sup>157</sup> Womersley's esteem for the pioneers does not stop him though from expressing his point of view very lucidly, excoriating Burton's proposal: 'To publish an article such as the one you propose would be the height of unwisdom'. Out of frustration at what he perceives as a private meeting overruling the decisions of meetings he gave his time to, Womersley shows he does not share Burton's values of indigenous church as being a success criterion; he writes, 'In one public gesture you wash your hands of the work you have founded and done a big share in building up, it would be an unprecedented shock throughout the churches who faithfully support us'. The emotive 'washing of hands' language suggests that no missionaries being present on the field would be conceived as an abandonment of the initial mission objective from Womersley's perspective.

After having said to pursue Burton's proposal 'without the agreement of the FIELD would cause an uproar',<sup>158</sup> Womersley continues to make his case. He writes that 'to close the Mission suddenly' would:

1. Shock the Supporters
2. Raise the eyebrows, to put it mildly, in the A.O.G. Council
3. Cause people to suspect inside disagreement
4. Make Jim & Dolly, Fred & Isabel, Mary, David & Bronwen, Joan and Phyllis, Bill & Anna feel you had heartlessly cast them off without warning or discussion.<sup>159</sup>

Womersley's first four reasons for not closing down the CEM are all to do with CEM supporters, the impressions of the British AOG OMC and individual British missionaries. Those named had for the most part spent most of their working lives in Congo.<sup>160</sup> Having stated these concerns, he only then moves on to the Congolese, maintaining to Burton that to pursue his proposal would 'greatly discourage the Congo Church' that he had 'played so large a part in forming'. Further, he states this action would also 'play into the hands of Ephradimi [Ephraim Kayumba] & Co.' (This was the man he had previously described as 'an acceptable representative of Pentecost in any gathering'.)<sup>161</sup> Womersley's last point is that the Congolese church still had not yet been 'granted full Personailte (sic) Civile' from the

<sup>157</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964.

<sup>158</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964. Emphasis his.

<sup>159</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964.

<sup>160</sup> Referring to Jim and Dorothy Fowler (CEM missionaries 1934-67 and 1930-1967); Fred and Isabel Ramsbottom, (CEM missionaries 1934-1970); Mary Jacques (CEM missionary 1945-1983); David and Bronwen Womersley (CEM missionaries 1953-1988); Joan Rhodes (CEM missionary 1946-1978); Phyllis Ralph (CEM missionary 1945-1964); William and Anna Dalby (CEM missionaries 1958-1965).

<sup>161</sup> *CEMR* 286 (September 1960): 3.

Léopoldville government. This had been a major sticking point in the past and, in the view of the CEM, had legitimised the need for continued missionary presence. The irony is not lost on Womersley as he writes that the legal representative of the CEM, unlike the *Eglise Pentecôtiste du Congo*'s legal representative, is still 'surprisingly enough [...] fully legalised'.<sup>162</sup>

Womersley shares Burton's concerns that 'Bro. Salter is under a strain' but adds, 'surely someone could be found willing to share the burden'. He also chides Burton for suggesting the HRC decide the future of the CEM stating this has to be a decision taken by the 'Field along with us at home', meaning not the HRC, but the missionaries on furlough. He signs off his letter writing, 'God bless and guide you, but please do not proceed with this action'.<sup>163</sup>

David Womersley too, responded to Burton in a similar vein. Writing from Kamina he states about Ilunga: 'Our Legal Representative, although perhaps one of the best we have, is not capable of doing his job efficiently and requires considerable help'. David Womersley, like Womersley, also turns down any meeting up with Burton, stating, 'Personally, I do not feel [it] would be of benefit'.<sup>164</sup>

#### **6.4.3.2. Debate is Closed**

This exchange of letters between Womersley, David Womersley and Burton asphyxiated more mature discussion involving Burton over the future of the Congolese Pentecostalism and the role, if any, of missionaries. There is no archival evidence of any form that Burton ever got his wind back and discussed this in any detail with anyone after Womersley's inversion of Burton's idealistic indigenous church principles. Burton settled, or was forced to settle, for an itinerant preaching and teaching ministry outside of Congo and played no further part in any decision-making about the future direction of the CEM. He never returned to Congo after this point. In May 1965 Burton wrote a letter to Salter about other trustees being appointed to replace Salter. Perhaps expressing his lack of influence in the CEM, he wrote, 'I am not consulted about the present trustees' and then crossed it out.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964

<sup>163</sup> Womersley, letter to Burton, 16/08/1964.

<sup>164</sup> David Womersley, letter to Burton, 14/10/1964.

<sup>165</sup> Burton, letter to Salter, 10/05/1965. There is a single line running through the sentence, but it is still clearly readable.

Not long after this private defence of maintaining a missionary presence in Congo, Womersley, still on furlough, writes an article for *CEMR* at the end of 1964.<sup>166</sup> He starts by writing that everyone is asking, “and what about your future? What are you going to do? Surely you're not going back?” In other words, “What is the Present and Future Policy of the C.E.M.?” He lauds what Burton and Salter accomplished in the last fifty years, calling it an ‘epic story’ saying that the CEM has evangelised an

area of 450 miles by 2590 miles [...] within which we were the only Protestant Society [...] Three quarters of a million people were reached with the Gospel and a tenth of them were under the direct influence of the Mission with a Christian community of some sixty thousand and an average Sunday attendance at services, throughout the Field of forty-five to fifty thousand.<sup>167</sup>

Womersley continues writing of

a thousand assemblies [being] established, sinners [...] saved, cannibals [...] converted, witchdoctors became witnesses, the sick were healed and believers baptised in the Holy Ghost and taught in the Word [...] To ensure evangelical and Pentecostal leadership in our schools two teacher-training schools were opened and to guarantee sound doctrine in the Church, Bible Schools were conducted, both short and long-term in all parts of the Field. Literature was produced.<sup>168</sup>

Those who had followed Burton's reasoning on indigenous church, might be forgiven for thinking Womersley is going somewhere, especially as he continues: ‘The next question was, “What are the Congolese doing for themselves?” From the beginning the ambition of the Mission has been to build a responsible national church with its own trained leaders.’ It is at this point in his article, that Womersley seems to go on the defensive, ready to answer Burton, who was no longer a missionary ‘on the field’:

An easy task to the arm-chair experts but a tough job to those working on the spot with handicaps of isolation, enervation, and perspiration in the lonely disease-ridden tropics. The struggle against illiteracy, unwillingness to take responsibility and different conceptions of time, distance and conscience became at times almost too much.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> The article was published in the February 1965 edition, but in it Womersley writes of standing ‘on the threshold of 1965’.

<sup>167</sup> *CEMR* 339 (February 1965): 3.

<sup>168</sup> *CEMR* 339 (February 1965): 4.

<sup>169</sup> *CEMR* 339 (February 1965): 4.



He continues in a build-up towards what one senses could be an announcement about a CEM withdrawal: 'Maturity and spiritual development came. Different missionaries followed the programme of leadership-training and the transfer of responsibility'. However, expectations of such an announcement subside when he adds, 'Even the best were behind their ambitious ideal'. One would have expected Burton to be considered among 'the best' and he certainly had an 'ambitious ideal'. Womersley here perceives that the best-laid plans towards 'the transfer of responsibility' were not good enough.

Womersley then writes how Dr. John R. Mott, world-known missionary statesman 'visited the Congo in 1945'.<sup>170</sup> Mott gave the missionaries in Congo 'a very serious word of warning' telling them they only had ten years 'to put all responsibility into the hands of the Congolese, hurry up or you will be too late'. Womersley writes the CEM was 'spurred to fresh action' and inserts, 'in the C.E.M. we had been proud of what had been accomplished'. Womersley then points out that 'God in his mercy' gave five more years of grace than Mott had prophesied. This meant:

Praise God, long before Independence, the thousand C.E.M. assemblies had been formed into a Congolese church [...] For years there had been elders, pastors and district supervisors. They were self-supporting in the sense of supporting their own church workers and had been building their own places of worship for years.<sup>171</sup>

Again, it seems to be building up to an announcement about missionary withdrawal. This theme goes further when Womersley writes of 'a measure of peace' that followed the full evacuation of all the missionaries and a few missionaries (not including Burton) attended a conference to decide the future. At this conference 'the place of the missionary in the Independent Church of Congo' was discussed. Womersley reports that the missionary was 'no longer a pioneer preacher and establisher of churches', something at least Rowlands would later deny.<sup>172</sup> Womersley also defines the (male) missionary by what he is not: 'Nor was he a lord in God's heritage or an employer of evangelists.' The indigenous claims build as Womersley writes 'The Congolese leaders were now completely responsible for the

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<sup>170</sup> John R. Mott, was mentioned in the introduction, as the guest speaker at a meeting of the Katanga sub-group of the Protestant Council of Congo in June 1934. For more on Mott see: E.J.Bingle, 'John R. Mott, 1865-1955,' *International Review of Mission*, 44:174 (1955): 137-138.

<sup>171</sup> CEMR 339 (February 1965): 4-6.

<sup>172</sup> CEMR 358 (September 1966): 13-14. Rowlands here writes an article entitled 'Missionaries are still Preachers'. In it he writes, 'Some think the modern missionary is a hospital worker, educator, builder, but not a preacher. As far as Pentecostal missionaries are concerned nothing is further from the truth'.

opening of the new work and caring of the old'. He then states that the missionary 'would naturally continue as a soul winner and preacher' and then adds, 'but by no means in charge of any spiritual work'. Yet, this missionary who had used the 'savage' word, four years previously, even when trying to write in the most egalitarian tone he can muster, still manifests an 'us and them' attitude as he writes, 'A worker WITH, but not OVER them'. Womersley then outlines the four 'avenues of service' agreed at the Conference for missionaries to be involved in: counsellors, Bible institute work, secondary schools, and literature and radio. He writes that he believes God himself has opened these doors and that because of this the CEM response should be, 'Our Policy is to OCCUPY TILL HE COME'. The contrast between what Womersley writes and Burton's proposed article for CEMR could not be greater. Womersley concludes his article, defining the CEM attitude towards missionary work and utterly and unreservedly abandoning, in his own mind, any notion of indigenous churches working without missionaries: 'When the door closes our work will be done. As long as the door remains open WE PRESS ON'.<sup>173</sup>

In seeing God as the one opening the door, Womersley is diametrically opposing Burton who had written "'AND SHUTTETH AND NO MAN OPENETH," Rev.3,7. I must look beyond all human agencies and recognise that He has closed the door'.<sup>174</sup> There is no archival evidence of Burton's reaction to the dismissive response he had to his 1964 proposal. One can only imagine how he felt when reading Womersley's article. How widely the debate became known among the CEM missionaries is not known. What is certain is that other missionaries wrote in *CEMR* supporting Womersley. One could assume they were made aware given the way they wrote. Dalby wrote, a few months after the publication of Burton's recognition of 'He has closed the door', Dalby wrote,

It would be wonderful to proclaim that the African Church have (sic) now no need of us, but this is not the case and most of our Church leaders are the first who will acknowledge it. Only once have I heard from the lips of an African, "we do not want you or your Christian teaching," and this came from one in a drunken stupor [...] Let the missionary fire continue to burn brightly in the midst of our churches.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> *CEMR* 339 (February 1965): 4-6.

<sup>174</sup> *CEMR* 301 (December 1961): 16-17.

<sup>175</sup> *CEMR* 345 (August 1965): 4.

## 6.5 Burton Believes the Old Days are Gone

In 1967, Burton worked in Birmingham with the Ramsbottoms to record a commentary for a set of magic lantern slides, two years after Womersley's 'OCCUPY TILL HE COME'-statement.<sup>176</sup> Burton contrastingly celebrates local agency. Burton even emotionally declares his love for the local agency involved. He says about them that they, 'unlike the missionaries, could not escape Congo in times of trouble', and then goes on to say:

I would like to draw your attention to the native leaders of the work. These are fellows who right from the far years in the early days of the mission have been solidly with us and borne every bit as much responsibility as the white missionary. Stalwarts! We love them! Our brothers in the Lord, who would gladly lay down their lives rather than see their flock suffer for Christ's sake. Every one of them a man of God, a man of prayer, filled with the Holy Spirit. [Drum sound for the next slide] Let me introduce you to the architects of the new Congo. The old days are gone! <sup>177</sup>

'The old days are gone' has connotations with 'Goodbye Mr Womersley'. Burton continues speaking with a frustration in his voice that only the very few who have read his rejected 1964 article might discern:

From the earliest days we have emphasised to the natives that their work must be for self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating, so that they have carried the Gospel to their own people. They have supported their own ministry and have exercised their own church discipline. They have been taught to. We have tried to prevent their being merely adjuncts in a white mission. We have said, 'It is your own church; we shall be called away eventually, and you will have to do the work yourselves'. <sup>178</sup>

Having just said that 45 years of preparation had been sufficient, Burton continues on this matter leaving the informed listener with no doubt as to his thoughts on 'OCCUPY TILL HE COME'; 'We had trained Christians, native Christians, to take over every job that was being done by the white missionary'. <sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Burton, letter to J.Emmett, 08/06/1967.

<sup>177</sup> Reel to reel tape recording, sixty minutes long, J.Emmett archives, digitised by Matthew Stephenson, 18/08/2015. I emphasise 'Stalwarts!', trying to show the reader something of the emotion and raised voice that Burton gives here.

<sup>178</sup> Reel to reel tape recording, sixty minutes long, J.Emmett archives, digitised by Matthew Stephenson, 18/08/2015. Emphasis his with raised voice.

<sup>179</sup> Reel to reel tape recording, sixty minutes long, J.Emmett archives, digitised by Matthew Stephenson, 18/08/2015. Emphasis mine.

### 6.5.1 'When Will They Ever Learn?'<sup>180</sup>

The words 'every job being done by the missionary' elicit the question as to why the missionary continued to 'occupy' jobs, if 'native Christians' had been trained. A minute of an MC meeting held in Kamina, eight years after Independence, either showed Burton to be naïve and mistaken or that a continued missionary presence had negated that possibility. Whichever way one reads it, the minute is also an indication of the frustration Burton must have felt, nearly eight years after Independence. The minute reads, 'That we accelerate our plans for the eventual Congolese leadership of each remaining department of our work not yet under control, namely, Secondary Schools, Hospitals, Bible Schools and literature'.<sup>181</sup>

In 1970 David Womersley made an audio recording to accompany a CEM presentation on 'The Growth of the CEM Work'. Towards the end, after a banal sequence of numerous slides showing the bad roads that missionaries had to travel on, David Womersley raises his otherwise very calm voice and seems to be answering an unexpressed question in his monologue, 'No! The work is not finished yet, there are still many people unsaved.'<sup>182</sup> On 6th October 1970 Burton wrote to David Womersley that he doubted he would ever see Congo again. In the same letter Burton was concerned about supplying a Land Rover for Beseka, pastor of the Mwanza station. David Womersley wrote of the flurry of letters that kept on coming from Burton about getting a Land Rover for Beseka.<sup>183</sup> Shortly after Burton's death, when Burton could no longer reply, in January 1971, Womersley wrote for *RT* about Burton stating,

Like Peter [...] [Burton] needed a balance-weight. Peter had James the Lord's brother. Burton had James Salter. How often in Field Conferences have we had Acts 15 re-enacted! [...] "And when there had been much disputing Peter rose up and said [...]" Then vv.13-15 when James the chairman gave honour to Peter.<sup>184</sup>

The fact that Womersley writes this way just after Burton's death suggests that Womersley associated Burton with some friction and that the 1964 correspondence might be evidence of

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<sup>180</sup> I use the words from the sixties protest song, 'Where have all the flowers (soldiers) gone?' as used by Anderson, in 'Revising Pentecostal,' 153.

<sup>181</sup> MC minutes, Kamina, 25-26/04/1968, No.1. (The next minute decided that 'the Kipushya long wheelbase Landrover be handed over to the African church'; I know that did not happen as it was still in missionary hands when I arrived at Kipushya in 1981.

<sup>182</sup> Reel to reel tape recording, 35 minutes long, J.Emmett archives, digitised by Matthew Stephenson, 18/08/2015, 34'10. I have added the emphasis here to reflect the volume of his voice.

<sup>183</sup> CEMR 412/3 (March/April 1971): 11. David Womersley cites that letter here, he does say that Burton wrote he 'would have loved to have come', but his heart had been giving cause for concern.

<sup>184</sup> RT 47:10 (22/04/1971): 7.

other unrecorded interchanges where Burton and Womersley clashed. Burton himself had written to Owen and May Saunders in 1952,

Owen ever since its inception I have had to steer this work through shoals & rocks of selfishness, jealousy & mistrust that are hard to talk or even think about, but praise God he has given constant victory [...] I'm happy to take lowest place so that the enemy's bullets can go over my head.<sup>185</sup>

Certainly, David Womersley writing his 'Tribute from the Field' describes Burton, among other things, as 'strong in views, strong in mind and often outspoken'.<sup>186</sup> In the same edition of *RT*, Hawkins, given Burton has just died, has far more predictable memories of Burton, when writing for a pentecostal audience:

We pay tribute to a man in a thousand; a true Christian gentleman; a tireless and most successful soul-winner; and a talented, always-active minister of the Gospel. Humbly we press on, confident that we shall meet our friend again, in the presence of Jesus.<sup>187</sup>

## 6.6 Burton's Post Congo Years

Figure 27

W.F.P.Burton, c. 1967

Photo Leonard Mantle: J.Emmett Archives



<sup>185</sup> Burton, letter to Owen and May Saunders, 23/03/1952.

<sup>186</sup> *CEMR* 412/3 (March/April 1971): 11.

<sup>187</sup> *RT* 47:10 (22/04/1971): 9.

In the early 1960s Burton spent time at Honor Oak with Austin Sparks, and also with the very embryonic British House Church Movement.<sup>188</sup> From Johannesburg in October 1965, Burton wrote of his being ‘welcomed among the Plymouth Brethren & Baptists’ and their hunger for ‘the gift of the Holy Spirit’.<sup>189</sup>

### 6.6.1 Burton Makes ‘Comparatively New Friends’

Burton was wide in his relating with Pentecostals outside of classical Pentecostalism. If it is ‘more correct to speak of pentecostals’<sup>190</sup> then Burton, just as he had challenged the PMU many years before in eventually setting up his own mission, was implicated, as a seventy-nine-year old, in the birth of something that was to challenge classical Pentecostalism in Britain in the seventies and eighties.<sup>191</sup> In the spring of 1965 David Lillie, Arthur Wallis, and Campbell McAlpine<sup>192</sup> called together a leaders’ conference at Herne Bay Court in Kent on the theme of ‘The Apostolic Commission’. Leaders who came to this conference included ‘W.F.P. Burton of the Congo’, G.W. North, Hugh Thompson and Barney Coombs.<sup>193</sup> Burton was one of the speakers there. Walker sees this conference as ‘the beginning of the Restoration story proper’.<sup>194</sup> Peter Lyne, one of Walker’s so-called ‘Magnificent Seven’ writes about the ‘deep impression’ Burton made upon him when he stayed a week in his

<sup>188</sup> Bryn Jones in conversation with myself in 1986 referred to enjoying meeting Burton on several occasions, the first time being at a T. Austin-Sparks Conference at Honor Oak. There is a file in the CEM archives labelled ‘Bryn Jones’, which records all the correspondence generated from CEM missionaries when ‘Help Africa’, a charity Jones founded, gave bicycles in 1987 to every Station Pastor in the Kasai provinces. I was the connection for this and was told that Womersley said I had ‘sold the CEM down the Suwannee’. For reports on Help Africa’s giving to Congolese churches see: *Restoration* (March/April 1988): 5, 17-18. At the same time as this, Tearfund also gave money through my initiatives to fund both the building of a carpentry and sewing school at Kipushya; there was no suspicion towards the motives of Tearfund. Only in 2016, after some discussion with its trustees, did the CEM allow me to have access to the “Bryn Jones file” on condition I did not reproduce any of its content: See: Andrew Ramsey, email message to the author, 17/12/2015. From J.Emmett archives, therefore quotable, I do have undated notes of Rowlands’ thoughts at the time, he writes, ‘It is interesting that our Bro. Burton’s early teaching on N.T. church planting & gov. has played a great part in the foundation of the ‘restoration’ groups [...] Bro. Burton’s influence is paid tribute to in the book “Master Plan” by Ron Trudinger [...] I don’t believe for one moment that Bro. Jones has any thought of “taking over” or even using the aid offered as a publicity stunt [...] By creating a storm over this we will be causing grief’.

<sup>189</sup> Burton, letter to James Atkinson, 19/10/1965. Burton adds that they also ‘ask for and distribute my literature’.

<sup>190</sup> Anderson, ‘Varieties,’ 15.

<sup>191</sup> See: Walker, *Restoring*, 110.

<sup>192</sup> Campbell McAlpine, another with a Brethren background, had known Wallis since 1957. See: J. Wallis, *Arthur Wallis: Radical Christian* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1991), 150ff.

<sup>193</sup> Arthur Wallis, ‘Springs of Restoration 2,’ in *Restoration* (September-October): 7. North and Coombs ended up having their own apostolic networks, Thompson was active in Bryn Jones’ network; see: Kay, *Apostolic*, 82-99 (for Coombs) and Walker, *Restoring*, 44-46 for North.

<sup>194</sup> Walker, *Restoring*, 56. He writes ‘At the very least, the 1965 conference is a link between the 1958 conference and the emergence of R1 and R2 in the 1970s.’

home in Bristol.<sup>195</sup> Wallis notes something of the idealism prevalent at these conferences, stating there was a ‘holy fear’ that they should relax into a ‘New Testament huddle’ and neglect evangelism.<sup>196</sup> It was later on that same year that Coombs was baptised in the Spirit. Coombs later became the leader of the Salt and Light apostolic network.<sup>197</sup> Coombs talks of five years of friendship with Burton that followed and of being impressed by Burton’s ‘devotion to Jesus in everything, and his willingness to change, even as an old and respected Christian leader’.<sup>198</sup> Coombs also tells something of Burton’s ongoing frustration with Coombs when he did not live up to Burton’s ideals. Coombs writes,

On one occasion he was painting a watercolour for us in his bedroom and I was speaking at a wedding that afternoon and had been asked to wear a clerical collar. So quite innocently I knocked on his bedroom door to tell him where his lunch could be found. He was immediately taken aback and said “it’s no good, I can’t hear a word you’re saying with that wretched thing around your throat, go on, go away!”. Which I duly did, Janette taking my place.<sup>199</sup>

Harold Womersley refers to the ‘extended tours of Britain’ that Burton had made in the last six years of his life. He mentions the ‘comparatively new friends’, who started to call him ‘Uncle Willie’, something, according to Womersley, only his nephews and nieces had ever called him. Womersley states, ‘To everybody he was “Brother Burton” and more often “Mr Burton”, and no familiarities were ever taken with him’.<sup>200</sup> Harold Womersley’s hagiographical style gets the better of the facts here. As a schoolboy Philip Myerscough had offered Burton a tract in 1906.<sup>201</sup> He later wrote to Burton addressing him as ‘My Dear Willie’.<sup>202</sup> Hawkins also reveals that Burton would sign himself off in letters to himself as

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<sup>195</sup> Lyne, *First Apostles*, 15. He also wrote to me saying he saw that week as a ‘life-changing experience’; Lyne, email message to the author, 21/06/2016. ‘Magnificent seven’ is Walker’s phrase to describe the seven who met in Arthur Wallis’s home for the prophetic meetings; see: Walker, *Restoring*, 75-79. Lyne also told me his blind grandmother went to a church meeting and while Burton was preaching received her sight fully. Peter Lyne, interview with author, 15/07/2016.

<sup>196</sup> Wallis, ‘Spirings,’ 7.

<sup>197</sup> See: Kay, *Apostolic*, 82-91.

<sup>198</sup> Whitchurch, *The Journey*, 18. Coombs talked also of seeing both Burton and Wallis as those who provided him with ‘fatherhood and godly discipline’.

<sup>199</sup> Coombs, email correspondence with the author, 07/08/2015.

<sup>200</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 132.

<sup>201</sup> *CEMR*, 39 (November-December 1932): 633. Burton recounting here his first days in Preston.

<sup>202</sup> Philip Myerscough, letters to Burton, 17/01/1934; 29/08/1934; 16/01/1935 etc.

‘Uncle Willie’.<sup>203</sup> Coombs writes that Burton signed himself off in his letters to Coombs as ‘Uncle Willie’.<sup>204</sup>

Womersley, especially as one who had refuted Burton's wishes in 1964, simulates veneration. He continues as he refers to ‘This “Uncle Willie” cult’, stating it ‘was a rather startling [...] aspect of his [Burton’s] many-sided character to those of us who had laboured with him and known him as our respected leader through many long years. He was the director of the Mission and respected and honoured as such.’<sup>205</sup> Womersley’s very next sentence is more realistic in his own placing of Burton in his latter years: ‘So, it was beautiful to see his totally relaxed latter years, all responsibilities gone, trekking - now by plane, train and other people’s cars - from place to place, doing nothing but preaching and teaching the Word’.<sup>206</sup>

### 6.6.2 Burton’s Final Years

In 1968 Burton preached in Hull for an hour, they sang a hymn and then he stood up and preached for another 45 minutes, reportedly, ‘You could have heard a pin drop’.<sup>207</sup> Two years later and Burton’s idealistic holding on to his biblical beliefs comes across in October 1970 when he does a tour with John Carter around some ‘several assemblies’ in Yorkshire. John Carter taught on the Second Coming of Christ, while Burton discussed “‘Supernatural Signs’” with ‘ministers and workers’.<sup>208</sup>

The latter years of Burton’s life were spent mainly in South Africa attending and speaking at the Fairview church in Johannesburg. He was also writing and producing tracts of Bible teaching with his calligraphic writing which he himself reproduced on an old style duplicating machine. Paul Alexander, a former principal of the UK AOG Bible School, remembers as a fourteen-year old boy daily sitting next to Burton commuting on a bus. At the time Alexander had ‘no idea’ of who the elderly man he sat next to was. He remembers how

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<sup>203</sup> CEMR 412/3 (March/April 1971): 5.

<sup>204</sup> Coombs, email Correspondence, 07/08/2015.

<sup>205</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 132.

<sup>206</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P.Burton*, 132-133.

<sup>207</sup> RT 47:10 (22/04/1971): 11.

<sup>208</sup> RT 47:3 (21/01/1971): 19.



one day he commented to Burton on what a rotten day it was; Burton's idealism came across as he responded in a deep voice, 'Paul, this is the day the Lord has made'.<sup>209</sup>

In his final years, David Womersley averred Burton's heart 'ever was in Congo'.<sup>210</sup> Hall wrote of Burton's 'great love and compassion for the Congolese'.<sup>211</sup> In spite of this he never returned to Congo after Womersley rejected his call to close the CEM down. In his latter years, he appeared calmer, but the frustration was still evident. Burton who had been so 'outspoken' (to use David Womersley's description of him)<sup>212</sup> and obviously irritated when writing in his twenties to Boddy, still manifested his frustration, but he did it in more intelligent and subtle ways in his seventies and eighties. He had wanted the CEM to close down, yet he still loved the Congolese, even buying a Land Rover for Beseka. The CEM's continued presence denied him the sense of achieving his yearning to see indigenous churches. In a letter months before he died, he wrote of his own unfulfillment at having 'been made to feel [his] inability to accomplish all that I long to do for him who has done so much for me'.<sup>213</sup>

## 6.7 Conclusion

While acknowledging Congolese agency is central to any discussion of Burton's ideal of indigenisation, this chapter predominantly focused on those who had been wielding power and thus able to release it, namely the CEM missionaries. Burton is ubiquitous in any writing about 'Burton's mission'. Here though, at this decisive time, Burton, in his seventies from 1956, was sometimes in South Africa and it has been seen his power was ebbing within the CEM.<sup>214</sup> He went to South Africa for a three-month visit, but was hospitalised and was even at 'death's door'.<sup>215</sup> He was increasingly in the background over this period, exerting ever-diminishing influence. Rather than Burton himself, it was the responses and reactions of 'his' missionaries to unfolding events that determined the subsequent nature and extent of the missionary involvement in Congolese Pentecostalism after Independence. It was seen here that in the endgame Burton's idealism for the CEM was frustrated. Zeno's paradox manifested both as Independence loomed and in the years that followed. Womersley,

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<sup>209</sup> Paul Alexander, interview with the author, 09/02/2012.

<sup>210</sup> *CEMR* 412/3 (March/April 1971): 11.

<sup>211</sup> *CEMR* 412/3 (March/April 1971): 17.

<sup>212</sup> *CEMR* 412/3 (March/April 1971): 11.

<sup>213</sup> Burton, letter to J.Emmett 17/06/1970.

<sup>214</sup> Burton was in South Africa before April 1959, but was back for the board meeting in Kamina in July 1959: see: Minutes of the Administrative Board Meeting, July 13-14<sup>th</sup> 1959.

<sup>215</sup> *CEMR* 269 (April 1959): 19; *CEMR* 270 (May 1959): 19.

especially after Hodgson's death, played an increasingly tangential role in the steering of the CEM. There was a fractious and unedifying dispute over the way forward. Womersley won. Burton never underrated the power of inertia and refused to be held captive to 'his' mission and become the equivalent of the medieval French *roi fainéant*. While considerably giving moral and financial support<sup>216</sup> to the CEM, he encouraged the British pioneers of a new form of Pentecostalism during the 1960s that would threaten classical Pentecostalism in Britain in the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>217</sup>

It has not been my desire in this chapter to make Burton into a hero and Womersley into a villain.<sup>218</sup> This chapter has shown how the late 1950s and early 1960s provided the golden opportunity to re-set the relationship between local and missionary agency that Belgian colonialism had for so long corrupted. Burton's idealism was within reach. The relationship was, frustratingly for Burton, tweaked, not re-set.

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<sup>216</sup> The CEM was the sole beneficiary in Burton's will: Burton, letter to Womersley, 23/02/1968.

<sup>217</sup> Walker, *Restoring*, and Kay, *Apostolic*.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Cecil M. Roebeck, Jr., 'Are Pentecostals Merely Evangelicals?', *Pneuma* 36 (2014): 289-295. Roebeck says the same thing here, but about David du Plessis (the hero) and Thomas Zimmerman (the villain) exploring their relationship and its ramifications for AG and the wider charismatic movement.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION: FRUSTRATED IDEALIST

Figure 28

Burton preaching in the early days

Photo courtesy of CEM archives



#### 7.0 Conclusions on Burton's Impact

Pentecostalism has become a global phenomenon over the last hundred years. Pentecostals believe the fire of the Spirit emanates from heaven, but spreads through human agency. Writing which gives and examines some satellite views of these spreading fires has been produced. Congo though has taken up relatively little of that bandwidth. In contributing a 'helicopter view'<sup>1</sup> this thesis has augmented the opportunities for comparative studies in the way this fire of the Spirit spread within Congo *vis-à-vis* other regions. Through plumbing the

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<sup>1</sup> van der Laan, 'Historical,' 217.

depths of archives, oral sources and oral tradition this thesis has discovered and, at times daringly broadcast ‘due credit to indigenous pioneers’<sup>2</sup> sounding out the ‘native’s point of view’.<sup>3</sup> To do this while still keeping *en piste* with its subject matter has only been possible because of Burton’s idealistic approach towards Congolese agency. He planned to set the Congolese on fire spiritually, see them mature in spiritual matters and then devolve all governance to them, stating in 1933 that all who went ‘by the name of “Pentecostal”’ had an ‘outlook’ that regarded ‘white missionaries as a mere passing phase’, but quickly adding, ‘Perhaps the ideal is not altogether attainable at first’.<sup>4</sup> Burton has merited historical attention as a pentecostal trailblazer and a clear advocate of indigenisation from within early British Pentecostalism.

In parsing segments of Burton’s less-than-straightforward life this thesis has made an original contribution towards answering the conundrum as to why he never saw the fulfillment of his idealism in Congo. To do this it has charted not only Burton’s behaviour, but also the behaviour of Pentecostals based in Britain, Congolese agents and missionaries who came across his path. All this has been filtered through the lens of a researcher who has had real-world experience of both Congolese and British Pentecostalism.

## 7.1 Significance for African Pentecostalism

Given the above, this thesis is of significance for determining the historical roots of African Pentecostalism. The publishers of Kalu’s 2008 *African Pentecostalism* describe it as, ‘The only book to offer a comprehensive look at African Pentecostalism’.<sup>5</sup> While Kalu acknowledges missionary influences,<sup>6</sup> he contends strongly for the African roots of African Pentecostalism. However, there is no mention at all of the Congolese such as Ngoloma or Shalumbo in the six paragraphs that lightly touch on ‘Early Charismaticism in the Congo’ and neither Burton nor the CEM are mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Given Kalu’s position, one must assume that the Burton narrative involving Congolese agency fills in details on the Congolese section of the

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<sup>2</sup> van der Laan, ‘Historical,’ 217.

<sup>3</sup> Schwandt, *The Sage Dictionary*, 205. Not meaning ‘native’ in the colonial sense, but meaning ‘participant observation’.

<sup>4</sup> Burton, ‘*When God changes a Village*’, 127-128.

<sup>5</sup> ‘African Pentecostalism’ on the ‘Oxford University Press web page’, accessed 17/11/2015, <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/african-pentecostalism-9780195340006?cc=us&lang=en&>.

<sup>6</sup> Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 41.

<sup>7</sup> Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 45-46.

historiography of African Pentecostalism that Kalu has been unacquainted with. The publisher's boast obliquely cries out for a thesis like this one.

In Martin Lindhardt's 2015 book with a parallel title to Kalu's, *Pentecostalism in Africa*, Congo does have a weightier place in the book as Garrard writes a chapter entitled, 'William F.P. Burton and the Birth of Congolese Pentecostalism'.<sup>8</sup> Contrastingly to Kalu, Garrard writes very much from the missionary perspective. Unsurprisingly therefore, neither Shalumbo's nor Ngoloma's names are even mentioned, although in four lines Garrard does mention the 'ex-slaves' as having 'undoubtedly accelerated the spread of the Christian message in the entire area'. He then qualifies 'the area' by adding, 'for which the missionaries were responsible', thus revealing not only the accuracy of the historical detail, but as the present director of the CEM, his inevitable western missionary bias.<sup>9</sup> While Garrard's writing here, *faute de mieux* has been useful for filling in historical detail, he arguably does not colour outside the lines of a western preconception and unequivocally does not give in-depth details of local agents.

In its ongoing analysis throughout the narrative, this thesis has illuminated the nature of missionary and Congolese interaction, which, at least for this Congolese context, is totally unique in terms of attaching due import to the foundational Congolese contribution. The significance of this for the wider context of African Pentecostalism's historiography is important, especially when given the present population of DR Congo and the claims of well over two million Pentecostals in the nation today. Indubitably, Burton was the harbinger of a form of Pentecostalism that took root and spread rapidly in Congo, but it only did so through Congolese agency cheered on by Burton himself. This narrative crucially snatches this important part of pentecostal historiography from oblivion. In so doing it overcomes stymied historiographies lacking in imagination that both overplay CEM influences doling out exaggerated plaudits to western missionaries and underplay the effectiveness of local agency, often not even naming key players. Such accounts therefore fail to hold to the insightful theological underpinning of 'Burton's mission' in pursuing the indigenous principle and the concomitant goal of closing down 'his' mission. Such historiographies are problematic in that in sections they may be part of the truth, even the whole truth, but, sometimes not. The effect warps the narrative and even corrodes it. This thesis is not a disquisition into the inadequacies

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<sup>8</sup> Garrard, 'William F.P. Burton,' 75-95.

<sup>9</sup> Garrard, 'William F.P. Burton,' 94.

of such historiographies but a fact-seeking corrective restoring as much as possible the Congolese faces that have been photoshopped out of the historiography of one of African Pentecostalism's largest demographics.<sup>10</sup>

By reifying the seminal role of Congolese agency within the Burton narrative, this thesis not only makes an important contribution to the historiography of African Pentecostalism, but it importantly advocates recognition of the title deeds of Congolese Pentecostalism as belonging to the Congolese; it also cross-examines any residual paternalistic attitude from churches or agencies outside of Congo. This was what Burton wanted. This was Burton's ideal. Knowing the roots and historiography of Congolese Pentecostalism can help Congolese Pentecostals today remonstrate with both western paternalism and also other missionary influences into Congo, such as the recent number of Nigerian agents bringing their own brand of prosperity teaching to Congo.<sup>11</sup> This is possible as this thesis does not merely 'look *through*' the Burton narrative, but 'looks *at*' it<sup>12</sup> and through parsing it uncovers the conflation of Burton's ideal of indigenous church with the historicity of the roles played by Congolese agents such as Ngoloma and Shalumbo. Capturing both elements is necessary to begin to understand the establishing of Congolese Pentecostalism. This thesis leaks out a far more fragmented genesis than any hagiographical writing about Burton could ever reveal. The narrative is highly textured and includes, as part of the whole, thirty years during which Belgian colonialism cryogenically deferred Burton's willingness to fully implement his ideal of indigenous church.<sup>13</sup> When the post-colonial thaw set in, Burton for a brief time thought his ideal was within reach, only to frustratingly discover missionary colleagues also knew how to fast-freeze aspirations for indigenous church by, if seen from the perspective of Burton's frustration, not openly declaring their opposition to it, but by skulking under the banner of wisdom, precaution and steadiness and believing that to remain as long as possible was the only virtuous reaction to the deaths of two of their coworkers. In acting thus, they eviscerated the CEM of its moral authority to support indigenous church and Burton of his passion. To use dramatic allegories, the CEM became a zombie of Burton's mission. Burton, like Frankenstein in Mary Shelley's 1818 novel, must have wondered what he had created

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<sup>10</sup> Nigeria, South Africa, Ethiopia and Kenya would be other African nations with a large number of Pentecostals.

<sup>11</sup> This is evident from personal conversations with numerous Pentecostals in Kinshasa over the last ten years.

<sup>12</sup> Jörg Haustein, 'Historical Epistemology and Pentecostal Origins: History and Historiography in Ethiopian Pentecostalism' *Pneuma* 35 (2013): 347.

<sup>13</sup> 1929 being when Burton first expressed his feelings that the missionaries could move on and 1964 when he wrote his article wanting to close the CEM.

when the monster slid off the table and took on a life of its own, over which he no longer had any say.

Regarding the origins of African Pentecostalism, this historiography has given space for providential parsing. As shown earlier, those with pentecostal beliefs would effortlessly see this in such events as, for example, the ex-slaves leaving Angola on the same day Burton received a prophetic word from a woman in South Africa prophesying that he would find local agency ready and able to help; this thesis has shown that without that help Burton's frustration could have trumped his idealism early on in his lifetime. Providential parsing equally interprets very real claims of divine healings that occurred throughout the ministry of both local and missionary agency as giving a fillip to the evangelical enterprise.<sup>14</sup> Physical healings certainly bolstered Burton's confidence when the PMU declaimed against him.

Yet there is also space for anatomising the narratives left (mainly by CEM missionaries) in books, articles and letters, alongside those (mainly Congolese) oral sources and oral tradition to seek out the functional motivations in play that are much harder to attribute to providence. Missionary self-perceived superiority and the excoriating of any notions of Congolese competence contest the providential ideal of the Spirit poured out on all flesh. This thesis examines sufficient detail to show how the varying contexts across the two provinces Burton worked in actually interplayed, and localised the pentecostal ideal. Be it Mwanza, in what Burton referred to as 'the hub the mission';<sup>15</sup> or the mosquito-infested marshlands of Kisale, where Ngoloma, as a lone ranger, took Pentecostalism into numerous villages before the arrival of any missionaries; or Kipushya, where a whole new ethnic group heard Pentecostalism's message by welcoming back Shalumbo. This time he appeared not as a young opportunist slave trader, but as the first pioneer, ahead of any missionaries, raising the dead. There are however, less than ideal sub-plots within each of the loci. Missionaries fall out with one another, including Burton himself, who for a few years in 1936-1938 threatens Salter with leaving the CEM. There are 'petty rivalries' among Congolese agents and a missionary take-over sours the progress made by Ngoloma in the Kisale region. Further, Shalumbo is accused of misconduct with another woman at Kipushya and moves away

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<sup>14</sup> For more on providential narratives see William Kay, 'Karl Popper and Pentecostal Historiography', *Pneuma* 32 (2010) 5-15.

<sup>15</sup> Burton, memorial writing to Hettie Burton at Mwanza at her bedside, n.d. (This is an undated piece of Burton's writing from the Jean Brown archives.)

following the drunken fracas in the Kipushya church building between his brother and another member of the congregation, and Johnstone's subsequent puritanical and ungracious response to this.

The above are just some examples that have been looked at throughout the thesis, where, to use Pauline terminology, both 'flesh and Spirit' are at play in the history.<sup>16</sup> Thus what Anderson refers to as the 'reading between the lines'<sup>17</sup> in this narrative emasculates both historiographies that portray simplistic and 'coherent branches' and notions that Congolese Pentecostalism, or indeed Pentecostalism, 'needs to be joined to a great tradition'.<sup>18</sup> It is more complex than that. Yet in the full flow of exciting entropy, churches are planted in Congo and Pentecostalism spreads in a manner that can be seen as having, at the very least, a superficial entropic attraction to those wanting to become participants in 'a movement on a mission to subvert convention'.<sup>19</sup>

## 7.2 Significance for Pentecostals Today

If frustrated idealism can motivate terrorism,<sup>20</sup> can the Burton narrative positively motivate Pentecostals living with the ideal of a coming kingdom that has not yet come? The less than perfect characters involved in spreading the idealistic fire in this narrative must encourage any Pentecostal today who might be frustrated with their own or surrounding imperfections. This is especially true for Congolese Pentecostals who have seen their country slide economically into becoming the poorest nation on earth. Writing about Burton and those around him has not always been 'a pleasant task'; they have all at times 'proved petty and mean-spirited'.<sup>21</sup> Unlike those who hid archival material to 'protect' the image of Burton and the CEM, this thesis has shown how the advance of the pentecostal cause was often forged on the anvil of frustration with surrounding personalities and situations.

Frustrated idealism has also been considered as 'a factor in burnout' for church leaders.<sup>22</sup> In parsing the Burton narrative there is an understanding of the extent of frustration that can be

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<sup>16</sup> Gal 5:17 for example.

<sup>17</sup> van der Laan, in 'Historical,' 210. Citing Anderson.

<sup>18</sup> Irvin, 'Pentecostal Historiography,' 50. This article avers the fragmented origins of Pentecostalism *per se*.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, *To the Ends*, 251.

<sup>20</sup> Corrado, R., 'A Critique of the Mental Disorder Perspective of Political Terrorism' in *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, V4. (1981): 308.

<sup>21</sup> Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 17.

<sup>22</sup> Harbaugh, G.L. and E.Rogers, 'Pastoral Burnout: A view from the Seminary' in *The Journal of Pastoral Care*, 38:2 (1984).



provoked by the perfectionism implicit within pentecostal beliefs. It also serves as a pastoral caution to those seeing Pentecostalism's emphasis on the present power of the Spirit as merely a solution serving as a panacea for all ills. This applies not just where there is a perceived dichotomy between traditional Congolese religious belief and a so-called western Christian one, but ubiquitously where there is a perceived struggle between a coming kingdom and a 'present evil age'.<sup>23</sup> Burton's life serves as a signifier, within Pentecostalism, of durability *vis-à-vis* the frustration of delay in seeing that kingdom come. This durability is manifest in his 1911-1915 delay in not even knowing where to go in Africa; his 1916 days at Mwanza writing home about his house burning down after being struck by lightning and having wet underpants exacerbated by the arrival of single women missionaries sent by the PM; the shenanigans of aggressive Roman Catholics; the 1936-38 nadir in his relationship with Salter; his frustrated excoriating of Wigglesworth because of his recommendations of missionary candidates and subsequently the missionaries Burton deemed as incompetent.<sup>24</sup> In all such times Burton could be petulant yet also manage to irrepressibly maintain the idealism embedded in his pentecostal faith. The June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1923 letter to Myerscough typifies this resilience, in the face of unfulfilled idealism: Burton recounts his grief over the loss of his ten-day old son David who had 'fallen asleep in Jesus' leaving both himself and Hettie 'feeling just broken hearted'. Nevertheless Burton altruistically concludes his tear-stained letter, 'We do rejoice to hear of dear Mrs Myerscough's improvement in health. With love in the Lord to you all'.<sup>25</sup>

### 7.3 Significance for Scholarship and Missiological Research

As was shown in the introductory chapter, some have already written about Burton, but often with almost mawkish sentimentalism, which ironically Burton himself would have been the first to despise. Such writing portrays Burton in a 'biographical illusion'<sup>26</sup> that does little to add to mission historiography. In pursuing a biographical re-telling of events over flummery, I have, along with other biographical writers, struggled with being denied access to archives and fearing being perceived as causing defamation. In this contribution towards the historiography of Pentecostalism, there has had to be a dealing with the emotional strain of potentially being perceived as denting the reputation not only of one of classical

<sup>23</sup> Gal 4:1.

<sup>24</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 25/03/1925. Burton had to warn Myerscough off from accepting Wigglesworth's recommendations saying 'his heart is bigger than his judgment'.

<sup>25</sup> Burton, letter to Myerscough, 22/06/1923.

<sup>26</sup> Bourdieu, P. 'L' Illusion Biographique', in *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 62-3 (1986): 69-72.

Pentecostalism's great heroes, but also of British classical Pentecostalism's 'iconic'<sup>27</sup> mission, neither of which has ever been my aim. However, writing accurate biography has not only indubitably added knowledge to historiography, but has become the latter's very methodology. This biography about Burton has been much more than biography; it has given meaning to the narrative by disputatiously showing how British Pentecostalism's largest missionary society struggled over decades to spread the fire of the Spirit while simultaneously seeing indigenous churches emerge within the context of a colonised nation. Burton, the scion of a notable family, let his faith in the empowerment of the Spirit cause him to ignore his patrician profile. Rejecting an anodyne lifestyle, Burton chose instead to initiate and tendentiously lead the enterprise of establishing an indigenous church and personally embody the struggle.

Thus, in this thesis, I have brought into the limelight a character hitherto largely neglected in pentecostal scholarship. However, while this writing has attempted to comprehensively garner the facts about one early British Pentecostal's life story, it has done far more than this. The Burton narrative has also substantially added to knowledge about the manner in which a form of Pentecostalism took root in Congo, not through one racial group, but through the interface between missionaries and local Congolese agency. This thesis has overcome biases in the archival material to show how the chemistry between the two did not keep to a tidy order, but varied according to the motivations in play, with those drives ever-mutating over the decades. In the midst of these metamorphoses, one of the most saliently enduring facts about Burton's mercurial life was his desire to see the three-selves with regard to Congolese Pentecostalism. Burton did not see this as a nostrum stolen from idealistic missiologists, but rather as an essential ideal of his mission for as long as he led it.<sup>28</sup>

Given the above, inevitably, this narrative on Burton's life consistently foregrounds Congolese agency. The thesis has shown how Burton wrote his biography about Shalumbo before writing anything else about mission history, and how he analysed the roles played by Shalumbo and Ngoloma in particular. However, it has also shown how Burton was concerned over Ngoloma's independent thinking. Such independent thinking from Congolese agency at times meshed with the gears of Burton's mission thus challenging commitment to the ideal.

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<sup>27</sup> Maxwell, 'The Soul of the Luba', 326

<sup>28</sup> See earlier in the thesis for an outline of Burton's attitudes towards Roland Allen's writings and also appendix 5.

This happened all the more in cases where those missionaries, not in tune with Burton's idealism on three-selves, brought Procrustean dimensions into their relationships with local agency, peaking with the physical whipping of Shalumbo's brother. Thus the thesis has been able to trace pendulum swings from idealistic synergy between missionaries and Congolese agents to manifestations of imperial hubris. Given this lack of consistency, it is not surprising that Burton's aspiration goes awry and even during his lifetime the CEM was only left with residual splinters of his idealistic ambition.

Using allegorical language the narrative can be viewed from within a colonial *zeitgeist* where Burton is ostensibly the king who is forever on the verge of turning the CEM into a republic without ever actually doing so. The Burton narrative within Congo concludes inside a post-colonial theatre where Burton plays regicidal victim in a plot that twists and turns and against Burton's wishes, it is missionary, rather than 'native' succession that occurs. With regard to Burton's intrinsic, and even aesthetic value of indigenous church free from missionary control, it is a philistine CEM that succeeds Burton's artistic mission. Although such allegorical language is exactly that, and is far from airtight, there is clearly an unfolding story of the way in which a pioneering mission intent on planting indigenous churches cravenly justifies its mutation into what could unsympathetically be perceived as a self-preserving anachronism within a nation numbering well over two million Pentecostals.<sup>29</sup>

One has to question, even in these broad allegorical terms, how this happened. One explanation is that within this narrative there is a motif of the clashing interests between individual and hegemonic institution played out in both different decades and contexts: be it Burton and the PMU, Ngoloma and the CEM, Shalumbo and Kipushya missionaries, Burton and Roman Catholicism, and even reaching the final act with Burton and the CEM. In this there are no constantly stable characters keeping to some strict chronology of events. The actors involved in this narrative do not keep to the lines set by the romanticism of hagiographers. This biographical writing has sought to peel back the layers and uncover 'as much as possible of the unvarnished, unromanticized, uncompromising truth about real lives'.<sup>30</sup> The language used and the attitudes expressed at times would shock readers of

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<sup>29</sup> For this figure of two million, see D. Garrard, 'William F.P. Burton,' 97. The number is actually greater than this as Garrard is not counting Pentecostals in the independent churches here.

<sup>30</sup> Hamilton, 'A Nobel Prize for Biography,' in Renders, H. and Binne De Haans eds., *Theoretical Discussions of Biography*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 232.

*CEMR* every bit as much as pictures of topless Congolese women once did in 1942.<sup>31</sup> No one could accuse Burton, in his verbose clashing with the PMU, of any subtlety. The Burton-Boddy conflict did not lend itself to Chekhovian subtext. Fifty years later, and Burton is still the frustrated idealist, this time not dealing with a more mature Boddy, but with the once-young missionaries he had both welcomed into and even physically seen born into ‘his’ mission. In 1964 he acts more graciously and with less obtuse language, but yet again loses the argument. Both his idealism coupled with his frustration in not realising the ideal are ever-present. Just as he had done previously with the PMU, Burton moves away from the institution, this time from the CEM. While Burton certainly did not slide into decrepitude after this divergence, he never again played any significant role within his mission. It is seen in the Burton narrative that hegemonic institution trumps the individual every time. Burton lives out the last seven years of his life as an individual magnanimously still showing support to *the* (or even *his*) institution. However, as always, Burton refuses to be simply wedded to what he already knew and cuts loose from entangling compromise and makes ‘comparatively new friends’<sup>32</sup> who turn out to be significant players in a movement that challenged the status-quo of classical Pentecostalism in Britain, nearly as much as the CEM did the PMU fifty years earlier. Frustrated idealism birthed something of the provocateur in Burton whenever he moved away from hegemony.

This narrative about Burton has been the medium through which pentecostal historiography has been not only more fully, but also more precisely written. The pentecostal belief in the working of the promised Spirit through men and women, or to use the prophetic phraseology of Joel, through ‘all flesh’ has been recognised and analysed in this narrative. Burton’s life and active faith shows his refusal to see this as a passing chimera. Comparing the Congolese leaders in the 1959 conference with the missionaries, Burton continues to nuance ‘Allenism’ and Joel’s prophetic words ‘on all flesh’; Burton states that the Congolese leaders present are ‘as good men as we are and perhaps a lot better’.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *CEMR* 95 (July-August 1942): 745. An apology was issued by Burton in the following edition of *CEMR* acknowledging the ‘kindly remonstrances’ received from ‘several of our friends’; Burton wrote that Harold Womersley, the editor at the time, had ‘suddenly been taken ill’ and been ‘in bed for a month’ while ‘other hands’ prepared the material for *CEMR*; see *CEMR* 96 (September-October 1942): 788.

<sup>32</sup> Womersley, *Wm.F.P. Burton*, 132.

<sup>33</sup> *CEMR* 275 (October 1959): 17-18.

Yet, Burton's tenacity has been seen to be a root cause of his frustration. Burton determinedly believed in his ideal. His 1964 unpublished *CEMR* article effectively desiring to administer a *coup de grâce* upon the CEM was evidence of this. The reaction of exasperated tedium by some of the more pallid missionaries to Burton's article could be seen as evidence of British Pentecostalism's encysted and even tantric adhesion to a pentecostal dogma that rated 'going into all the world' so highly that it failed to comprehend when a job was done. Indeed, the intrinsic kudos given to overseas missionaries meant that even when Burton finally believed the missionaries' work was done, it was considered too wide a Rubicon to cross and was demurred by the missionaries in Congo at the time. As far as its own self-perpetuation went, the missionary society trumped indigenous church.

This thesis has brought to light one of the most prominent and intense personalities of early Pentecostalism. Burton had vivid artistic and linguistic talent and did not fear being at odds with those holding institutional power in Pentecostalism. He could be a pentecostal performer whose wit, pugnacity and scintillating verbal imagery could dazzle any congregation holding their attention for hours. Talk though, is not everything. In Pentecostalism saying something can make it so.<sup>34</sup> Or at least you can pretend that it does. Burton repeatedly said 'indigenous', but this never made it so. This thesis has shown Burton was too genuine to pretend. That was why he was always a frustrated idealist.

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<sup>34</sup> Rom 4:17 is often interpreted that Pentecostals by the Spirit can call into being things that do not exist.

## APPENDIX 1. TIMELINE OF BURTON'S LIFE

1886 24 <sup>th</sup> March	Birth of W.F.P.Burton in Liverpool
1892	Burton nurses and entertains Thomas L Johnson, a freed slave and an African American evangelist
1900	Visits uncle in New Zealand, where a farmer prays that Burton will preach the gospel
1905 (July or August)	Burton is converted
1907	21 <sup>st</sup> birthday gift of Bible from aunt Frederica Padwick
1908	Visits Lytham to investigate pentecostal group meeting in Henry Mogridge's large home
1910 5 <sup>th</sup> February	Baptism in the Spirit
1911 March	Mother dies
1911 June	Sends application to PMU
1912 October	Meets C.T. Studd to discuss possibility of working with him in Africa
1914 10 <sup>th</sup> February	Rejected by the Pentecostal Missionary Union
1914 5 <sup>th</sup> June	Sails for South Africa on the S.S. Galeka
1915 30 <sup>th</sup> June	Leaves South Africa for Congo with Blakeney
1915 1 <sup>st</sup> September	Arrives at Mwanza with Blakeney and Salter, Armstrong having died <i>en route</i>
1915 December	Julia Richardson and Augusta Hodges arrive at Mwanza, having been sent by the Pentecostal Mission. They cross paths with Blakeney on his return to South Africa
1916 March	Writes to Myerscough, with thoughts of leaving Mwanza to the ladies while he and Salter move on to establish new stations
1916 September	Shalumbo and a party of freed slaves arrive at Mwanza
1917 18 <sup>th</sup> April	Both women leave Mwanza
1917 September	Visits Dan Crawford in Luanza

1918	Visits South Africa to recruit more missionaries
1918 23 <sup>rd</sup> May	Marries Hettie Trollop
1919 6 <sup>th</sup> September	Journey with Hettie and Shalumbo to Kipushya
1919 27 <sup>th</sup> September	Arrives at Kipushya
1919 30 <sup>th</sup> September	Departs Kipushya and arrives back at Mwanza on 18 <sup>th</sup> October
1920 20 <sup>th</sup> May	Writes to Pentecostal Mission to reaffirm his resignation
1921 February	Returns to UK
1921 December	Involved in preparatory talks regarding a conference to discuss the establishment of AOG
1922 May	One of the leaders at the Sheffield Conference regarding AOG
1923 Christmas	With Crawford and other Brethren missionaries
1923 June	The Burtons' baby boy, David, is born and dies ten days later
1924 June	Crawford visits Mwanza for four days
1929 21 <sup>st</sup> January	Writes to Salter, wondering whether it is time to move on to untouched areas
1929	Writes about Shalumbo in <i>When God Changes a Man</i>
1933	Writes about the mission's history in <i>God Working With Them</i>
1937-1938	Strained relationship with Salter (over Axel Oman) accusing him of disloyalty in February 1937 and writing he would never return to Congo in February 1938
1944 17 <sup>th</sup> August	Diagnosed with cancer of the colon and given six months to live and Hettie becomes mentally unwell
1945 November	Colon functioning perfectly
1950	Hettie is unwell both physically and deteriorates mentally
1952	Hettie dies

1959 July	‘Native Conference’ at Mwanza
1960 23 <sup>rd</sup> November	Hodgson and Knauf are killed
1961	With Womersley touring churches in UK
1961 September	Writes ‘Goodbye, Brother Womersley!’
1964 13 <sup>th</sup> August	Writes to Womersleys, Robinsons and Salter with a proposal to close the CEM
1965 Spring	One of the speakers at a leaders’ conference at Herne Bay, with the theme ‘The Apostolic Commission’
1967	Records a commentary in Birmingham for a set of magic lantern slides
1970 13 <sup>th</sup> – 16 <sup>th</sup> June	‘Congo Veterans Convention’ in Birmingham
1970 October	Tour of assemblies in Yorkshire with John Carter
1971 26 <sup>th</sup> January	Burton dies suddenly in South Africa, falling among flowers in garden as hosts went to fetch car to take him out



## APPENDIX 2. BURTON'S LETTER TO THE PMU COUNCIL 16/10/1913

To the Members of the P.M.U. Council.

Gentlemen, On account of the matter that has just occurred, it is my desire to have a clear understanding as to your attitude toward, & policy with the Missionaries of the P.M.U.

When I joined you in June 1911, it was with the clear understanding that we should have perfect liberty to act as we believe God to be directing. Your statement (as made by Mr. Small, & assented to by the rest of those present) was:- "We don't desire to become a mission board in the usually accepted sense of the term, but simply a link in assisting Spirit-filled men & women to the foreign mission field."

Now a few weeks since Bro. Johnstone wrote asking for prayer, as the P.M.U. had requested him to choose between the Bible school in Preston, & that in London. Afterwards we had a talk about it. I had no desire to bias him. Personally I believe that a visit to London w'd be a good thing to bring him out. However he, so I am told, made a prayerful decision on Preston. Having asked God's guidance, we thanked Him for it. God had doubtless directed the choice as requested. When in Preston on Wednesday however, to my surprise, I was told that the P.M.U. had ordered Bro. Johnstone to London. So of course the former business of telling Johnstone to seek God's will was only so much nonsense.

But you cannot dis-regard God with impunity, or play ducks & drakes with His blessed will. If the above statements are correct, - & I sincerely hope that I am mis-informed- you are in a very serious way. I regard my spiritual liberty as sacred, & it shall not be violated.

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If the foregoing is to be your policy with me, we must part. What do we stand for? Is it apostolic power, righteousness, doctrine, & methods, or a mere human system? Christ has been systematized out off most existing churches & denominations. Shall we be "Pentecostal" merely in name? Where is the glory of the former years? The rivers are drying up, & very little is being done. A mighty Pentecostal army commenced to rise up, but the world began to shout "fanaticism"! Whereupon the majority have sat down again. Thus the wisdom of man has been a hindrance to every work of God. I have it from dear Bro'. Stephen Jeffreys himself that, just as the power of God was being mightily manifest at the Radnorshire meetings he had, owing to an agreement with Mr Polhill, to leave for London, & the work was broken off. He spoke with deep regret of having followed Mr. Polhill rather than God.

Gentlemen, the P.M.U. cannot put down their own railway lines, & say "Please God run along my railway lines!" We must run along His lines. The idea of my and the taking to obey Pastor Boddy's instructions indiscriminately, for example would be absurd. How could I put my conscience in the hands of a man who, on the one hand teaches "We must be born again". & on the other contradicts it by informing poor deluded parents, after sprinkling a few drops of water upon a baby that " This child is now regenerate". Who also has little children instructed that they are in baptism (falsely so called) made "the members of Christ, children of God, & inheritors all of the kingdom of heaven":- I believe that it is somewhat in these terms that the wicked lying rubric runs. My greatest hindrance in the gospel in these parts is through the falsehood which Pastor B'. is thus helping to propagate. Thousands every year are

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being damned by it. None knows this better than Pastor Boddy himself, for, to my knowledge it has been frequently pointed out to him by abler men than I, - though doubtless before this, he has discovered, or invented, some plausible excuse to soothe his conscience, & softly cover over his prepared guilty walk.

Whereas also he upholds the Scriptural baptism in the Holy Spirit, as attested to by speaking in new tongues, he at the same time maintains the lifeless counterfeit, where, in "confirmation", (falsely so called, again.) men, who are in many cases themselves uncontroverted, lay hands upon poor ignorant folk, while the latter undertake a solemn vow, which none of the millions who ever spoke it was able to keep.

On all hands I am continually asked- "If this work is of God, how can Pastor Boddy remain in that false system, - oldest daughter of Babylon the mother of harlots.- & how, moreover, can Mr Polhill countenance it, by being an office-bearer therein"? Paul righteously & justly rebuked Peter for behaving double-facedly with Jews & Gentiles, but now the same thing is being done with the Church of England, & the full-gospel truth. Not that this altogether affects our present subject, but my point lies here:- If a man cannot, or will not, order his own life after God's pattern, it is preposterous to demand that he should have dominion over mine, & I will not have it so.

While I have thorough confidence in the singleness of heart & purpose, & judgment, of Messrs Small, Murdoch, Myerscough, & Sandwith, & so far as I know them, in Messrs Breeze & Mundell,- & I am most grateful for the loving & sage advice that many of you have given from time to time, yet advice & help are not to be confounded with

[4]

mastery. In matters pertaining to divine guidance I must have liberty to hear God's voice. He speaks loudly enough for all who are willing to hear. None are so deaf as those who will not hear.-The only reason why Pastor Boddy cannot hear is his own will.- None are so deaf as those who refuse to listen. But though many who have received the Holy Spirit are drifting back into the old ruts again, I beg to be excused. "If I yet pleased men, I should not be a servant of Christ." If a policy of rule & dominion is indulged in, individual guidance is set aside & the P.M.U. will before long be one among the many existing boards (suggestive word that!) of lifeless Christendom. I am quite prepared to part company with you. I know that He who has called me to Africa will eventually take me there. I shall be glad to hear your opinion on the matter. What is it to be? Am I to be led by what God tells me, or by all that the P.M.U. propose to plan? If the former, then we will proceed as hitherto, but if the latter, then I must decline.

I have sent a copy of this letter to every member of the Council at whose next meeting I presume the matter will be brought up.

With a loving Christian greetings  
Yours for a whole gospel, & and un-fettered ministry,  
in the precious service of the Lord Jesus  
Wm. F. P. Burton [signed]

**APPENDIX 3. EXTRACT FROM BURTON'S LETTER TO MUNDELL 24/10/1913  
(sic)**

I unhesitatingly deny that Pastor Boddy is an elder in the Church of God. You are accustomed to evidence, & I cannot but believe that you will recognize in some degree the validity of the proof which I here advance. The whole world lieth in the Wicked One. 1 Jn.5.19 marg. The fact that England maintains her position by force of arms shows that she is not Christ's. Jn.18.36. but under the Prince of this world. The elders of Scripture bore office at the recognition of the assembly 'appointed by show of hands'. Χειροτονήσαντες Act. 14.23. But it is the kings of the earth & rulers, who stood up against Christ (Act 4.26.) that now appoint the Ch. of Eng. leaders, & it is a well known fact that some of our Ch. of Eng. bishops were elected on the advice of an agnostic prime minister. Can we doubt that the Spirit who 'carries away', 'leads' & 'works in' the children of disobedience (1 Cor. 12.2. Eph. 2.2.) is active in this godless election of the bishops who 'ordain' the 'clergy' of the Ch. of Eng'. & appoint them to office regardless of the flock.

Consequently I cannot recognize one of these as an elder of God's church. Though Pastor B'. is doubtless a member of that church.

The whole affair is a vast muddle. Even the word 'clergy' (τῶν κλήρων 'heritage' 1 Pet.5.3.) refers as much to the flock as to the shepherd. Again it is evident from Titus 1.5 & 7 that 'elder' & 'episkopon' - bishop or overseer, but not governor- are practically interchangeable terms. But Pastor Boddy doesn't even profess to be a bishop.

Indeed the whole affair is such a jumble of inconsistencies as to be absolutely inextricable. If we desire apostolic blessing, we must clear the rubbish out, & get on to simple apostolic lines. I venture to suggest that in dispensing with the latter we are also missing the former. However to make a very long story short. At the next meeting of the P.M.U. I should be glad to have the council's attention to the following points.

Am I to be permitted to do as God leads, (with of course, due recognition of the P.M.U.) or am I to regard the P.M.U. as my Master?

#### APPENDIX 4. EXTRACT FROM BURTON'S LETTER TO THE PMU 07/12/1913

I have left till last your request that I should apologise to Pastor Boddy, connecting with it the question of his rights to assist in the ordering of my movements. I have for the last six years been denouncing & fighting the lying falsities & atrocious errors which pastor Boddy carries on & propagates. Do you therefore imagine that I will in a moment or two recant, & knuckle down to a hypocrite who is singing 'All for Jesus, all for Jesus'. & At the same time putting his stipend & vicarage before his Redeemer. No gentleman, I dare not lest the blood of lost souls be found in my garments also. We can easily dispense with Confidence & Sunderland Convention, but you cannot dispense with righteousness & the apostles' doctrine... This man by his clinging to the Church of Eng'. Is a stone around the neck of this mighty movement. Look back a little, & you will remember scores saved, healed, filled with the Spirit. The meetings throbbing with divine life. But now where are we? There is sin in the camp, & I believe that more than one is clinging to the gold, & Babylonish garment. These Achans must be dealt with ere further blessings can come [...] Perhaps Pastor Boddy w'd. give us chapter & verse for the practice of wearing a nightgown to preach in. 'See that thou do all things according to the pattern---'. Where did Barnabas, Peter Timothy & Paul don their night attire to proclaim the Gospel?

Also perhaps he w'd tell us by what authority he dares to usurp God's title of 'Reverend'. For 'Holy & Reverend is His (God's, & not Pastor Boddy's) name'. Ps'.iii.9.

Before making any judgments on the above points, do please my beloved Brethren ask yourselves, before God, whether I have not spoken the truth. I could enlarge considerably, but have no desire to make myself a religious nuisance inspector.

## APPENDIX 5. THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF INDIGENOUS PRINCIPLES

Dec 8th 1934

MWANZA  
TERRITOIRE DE KISALE,  
PRIVATE BAG FROM ELIZABETHVILLE,  
CONGO BELGE.

Dear Mr Tilling,

The enclosed is not for publication, but just to let you know what the C.E.M. policy is in the matter of “indigenous principles”. One might give many smaller details but I’ve tried to keep to main lines. Naturally every country, and even every tribe requires local modifications.

Bro. & Sis. Vale, Bro & Sis. Hall leave for furlough. Praise God for all the good news from Ruanda & Mosiland. Also for lovely moves among the Asy. of G. missionaries from the S.A. [...?] We expect Bro. & Sis Geddes back early in the year, with a Miss Edmondson from Melbourne Australia.

The sphere for single sisters seems to become more and more restricted, so we are [turning] down applications from a number of good consecrated workers. We need young men, of ability and initiative.

Much heartfelt love to you all. W.F.P. Burton [Signed]

We have never been able to boast any profound wisdom or skill in missionary policy, but we boast the unlimited wisdom of the Holy Spirit, and our desire to be led by Him.

“The conies are a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks.” Prov. 30. 26. We likewise may be all most fallible, yet make we our refuge in the Rock of Ages, and it is wonderful how He safeguards those who trust in Him.

From its inception the C.E.M. decided to use the natives to the fullest extent in spreading the gospel amongst the Central African villages. The Scriptures indicate native churches, shepherded by native elders, and dependent upon native resources, and this has been our aim. Years later other societies introduced the same principles as some wonderful novelty.

Now the new cry is “decentralization”: caring for the natives without taking them from their own environment. This ‘decentralization’ principle is discussed as something brilliantly new, but the C.E.M. adopted it many years ago we are now in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of testimony in the Congo, and may thus be permitted a word with some degree of authority, since we have watched ‘indigenous principles’ good and bad during all these years.

Let us examine some of these methods, and see their trend.

### 1. The MOST SELFISH OF ALL method.

What is that? It is certainly “indigenous” in the sense that it considers the development of local material for local churches, but it never looks further than its own church, its OWN country, its OWN christian pleasures. It has no interest, or very little in the regions beyond. “Our pastor, OUR expensive church building, OUR conference must all be the most brilliant [unclear] and that is [p.]2.

all we need to make us happy.” Needless to say such people never are happy, for the acme of christian happiness is found in denying oneself for the sake of others.

One prominent preacher, recently dead, propagated this teaching widely, from the text “then the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance.....’ and have determined the bounds of their habitation.’ Act. 17. 26. Naturally had this man not hit on these texts he would have found others, or would have distorted any Scripture to suit his purpose, for the fact is he WANTED to think he had no obligation to the christless heathen. He did not hesitate to denounce missionaries collectively, and us personally, saying that it was wrong for English and American christians to go and preach in Africa. It was wasted money, and God could not bless them &c.

this man, by the way, do not hesitate to spend God’s money in pleasure trips to Palestine. Apparently that was not overstepping the bounds!

But what shocking distortion of scripture, in the face of Christ’s great command ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.” Mk. 16. 15.

What is the Holy Spirit given for? “And ye shall be witnesses unto me.... unto the uttermost part of the earth”. Act. 1.8.

We will go as far as to say that the churches in which the Holy Spirit is being poured out, and which still fail to reach in practical sympathy and effort “to the uttermost part of the earth”, are missing the very essence of God’s purpose for them.

## 2 THE HAPHAZARD PREACHING method.

There is the man of tremendous energy, who goes anywhere and everywhere, preaching, making converts and then moving on. He cares [p.]3.

little for the converts when they are made. They must look after themselves or after each other. He feels that his duty is just to “win souls”, even though the souls are left to drift helplessly at his departure.

That was not Christ’s principle. He said “Make disciples of all nations,..... teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.” Mat. 28. 19-20. The converts must be fed, cared for, trained shown their privileges and responsibilities, and gathered into christian communities.

Only one step better is the

## 3 NO RESPONSIBILITY method.

Let us give examples to explain how this method works. The missionary, and there are some splendid Evangelical men who adopt the method, goes to some needy part of the world and begins preaching. Gradually he gathers about him a band of christians, and forms one or two local assemblies.

He tells these believers “Now you must go and win souls, establishing churches just as I have done.” After which she simply moves on and leaves the natives to do the rest by themselves. They must sink or swim. He says “We must trust them to the care of the Holy Spirit”, but he forgets that the Holy Spirit moves through the human instrument.

Such missionaries point to the fact that Paul never spent more than a few months in any one place. “We must have Paul’s method” they cry, forgetful that Paul’s method was no rule of thumb. He was led by the spirit differently in each successive step of his ministry.

We do not write letters from prison because Paul did, neither do we forbid shipwrecked sailors from taking to the boats because the spirit led Paul to do so. He had a loving, omniscience Spirit

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directing his life, and so have we.

One of the most lovely and devoted couples we know spent several years of self-sacrificing toil in a secluded part of the Congo, and then left. They had founded churches but made no provision for their being carried on. Preachers had been sent out, but without any plan for their maintenance.

Some years later these villages were visited, and not only was there no assembly, but no individual Christian could be found. There were numbers who could read and write, and who had christian names. That was all. Some were sought out who had been appointed as elders in the church, but they were back in heathenism, without any profession of Christianity. They are polygamists, and consultants with evil spirits.

Now that, in our opinion, is the end of much of the effort which is directed after the manner of Roland Allen and the World Dominion Movement.

The C.E.M. had just commenced work in one section of the country when an independent missionary stepped right into the same area, and commenced without consulting us. We visited him, and then in a brotherly spirit offered to leave him as much of the country as he felt he could evangelise.

This man was an advocate of “spontaneous expansion of the christian church”, and would neither direct evangelistic effort, nor care for the needs of evangelists he sent out to preach.

10 years later we visited his area, and found villages within two or three hours of his mission station, still in absolute heathen darkness, still begging for teachers to be sent to them, and still calling in vain.

Furthermore this method leads to considerable insincerity.

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“we never pay our preachers” is a frequent boast, yet if one enquires, it is found that money for the upkeep of native preachers is regularly placed in the church collection, and thus finds its way to the preachers in any case. It is merely another way of paying them.

One missionary who boasted that he never paid his evangelists yet had his men giving instruction in schools, and paid them for this, saying that it was altogether to give a salary to school-teachers. Now such quibble about paying preachers is bound to cause confusion, for he DID pay his evangelists, even if he did not pay them AS evangelists.

At the other end of the scale is the method of employing native pastors, in increasing numbers, and that advancing salaries as they become more efficient, yet leaving them indefinitely dependent upon the richer churches overseas.

4. This INDEFINITE (sic) DEPENDANT method has several apparent advantages. The man who pays the piper has a right to call the tune, and thus evangelists or (whatever one chooses to call them), are mere employees of a foreign church. They are well under discipline, (until such time as someone else offers them a higher salary), but the weaknesses of the method are threefold.

A. The christians are dependent upon men and not upon God.

B. They are deprived of one of the greatest blessings, for it is more blessed to give than to receive.

C. The churches established upon this basis can only flourish while funds continue to flow from overseas: a most un-secure proposition in these days of financial fluctuation.

Before considering the method employed by the C.E.M. let us speak of some of these peculiar difficulties experienced by the

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Protestant missions in the Congo.

- A. Protestant Churches are illegal unless cared for, and superintended by European missionaries. Filthy secret societies are tolerated. Even societies of foul sorcerers, who dig up and eat human corpses, are not interfered with. Yet humble christian

believers are suppressed unless under European protection. A high official told me personally “we found Rhodesian native Christians, who had come to work on our copper mines, not only making converts, but actually baptising them. Of course we put them in jail.”

Similarly freelance evangelist from Bunkeya, found by an official preaching on the Lualaba River, was told “I shall have to imprison or exile you unless you can get some white missionary to give you a certificate.”

- B. Congo’s Whole Educational System is heavily subsidised by the State, and placed in the hands of the Catholics. Unless there is a Protestant school in the village the children are forced to attend a Catholic school, where they are taught little but catechism and hatred to Protestants. Naturally the natives have no means of setting up non-Catholic schools, and so the only thing to do is train our evangelist as school-teachers, that they may keep the village children free from being forced into Catholicism.
- C. The Natives themselves are Extremely Poor. The whole Katanga is one vast organization, [asuring ?] wealth into the pockets of a few powerful banking interests, which our copper and tin mines, railways, cotton companies and coffee plantations, as well as many of the largest trading combines. Thus the millions of pounds are streaming out of this valuable colony, the natives see practically nothing of it. A very large number of the natives do not touch ten shillings in a year. In one tin mine of which the clear profit exceeds £10,000 per month the natives only receive 13/- [shillings] per

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head per month.

A large part available-bodied men are absent on the mines, leaving only the old, the sick and the children at home. While thousands of precious saints of being [engaged?] among these, yet they are the least able to contribute to the keep of their teachers.

Now HOW DOES THE C.E.M. meet the problem?

First. The Evangelists who are sent out to win souls, shepherd the assemblies that they have helped to establish, at least until such time as elders are raised up of God in the villages themselves. Frequently when capable men have [?] oversight of the churches, they have been sent off to work on the mines, conscripted as soldiers, or otherwise got rid of. Thus it is still necessary, in many cases, for us to give our elders a small sum, just as a means of preventing their being spirited away. Actually such men largely support themselves by gardening or fishing.

Second. In answer to our prayers God has stirred some of His stewards overseas to undertake the support of evangelists they do not need much, and £5 per year maintains the man’s village school-masters and pastor combined, it provides their school-books and materials, clothes their families and pays their taxes.

Third. Little by little means are being found whereby the churches are being made more independent of European help. They now erect their own chapels, and very neat some of them are. They make their own slates from slabs of white, softwood and in some places produce quite credible ink etc.

Some are now beginning to pay tithes from the produce of their cotton plantations. All the evangelists of course, pay tithes, and do a great deal more beside. Small as is the increase



of these evangelists we found that on one station they had contrived to send out 41 of their own converts preaching. The matter only came to light

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owing to the shortsightedness of these evangelists they had provided food and clothes for the lads whom they sent out, but had forgotten to make provision for their taxes, so had to ask help from the white missionaries.

Every year we see the native church is giving better and better collections. In some of our areas this is more easily accomplished than in others, but there is evidence that the saints working at the distant tin and copper mines are planning to do something more than tithes etc in meeting the expenses of their brethren who are giving all their time to the work of the ministry.

#### THE DANGER OF LOOSE [?]

Wherever there is a missionary-minded church, there one may be sure to find the fires of God's power and blessing burning brightly, but when a church commences to decline, one of the first departments to register the coldness is the foreign missionary section.

Laodicea was thoroughly self-centred. "I am rich and increased with goods. I have need of nothing." In reading some of the religious magazines of to-day one is shocked to find similar expressions. Our flourishing congregations. Our dramatic reunions. Our splendid buildings. Our brilliant organisation. Our amazing success. They care less and less for Ethiopia's outstretched hands, and close their ears to the Macedonian cry "Come over and help us".

Now naturally they must find an excuse for failing in so obvious a responsibility, and thus one hears various shades of the three following propositions:-

1.- We do not believe in supporting white workers abroad. The work of evangelising should be done by natives. A sufficient answer to the above is found in Phil. 4. 10 to 18, as well as in Christ's last command "Go ye...."

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2. We do not believe in sending money overseas. Let the natives care for their own spiritual needs. A prayerful consideration of Act. 20. 35. Eph. 4. 28. 1 Jn. 3. 17. & Jas. 2. 14-18. should surely convince one of the unscripturalness of this excuse.

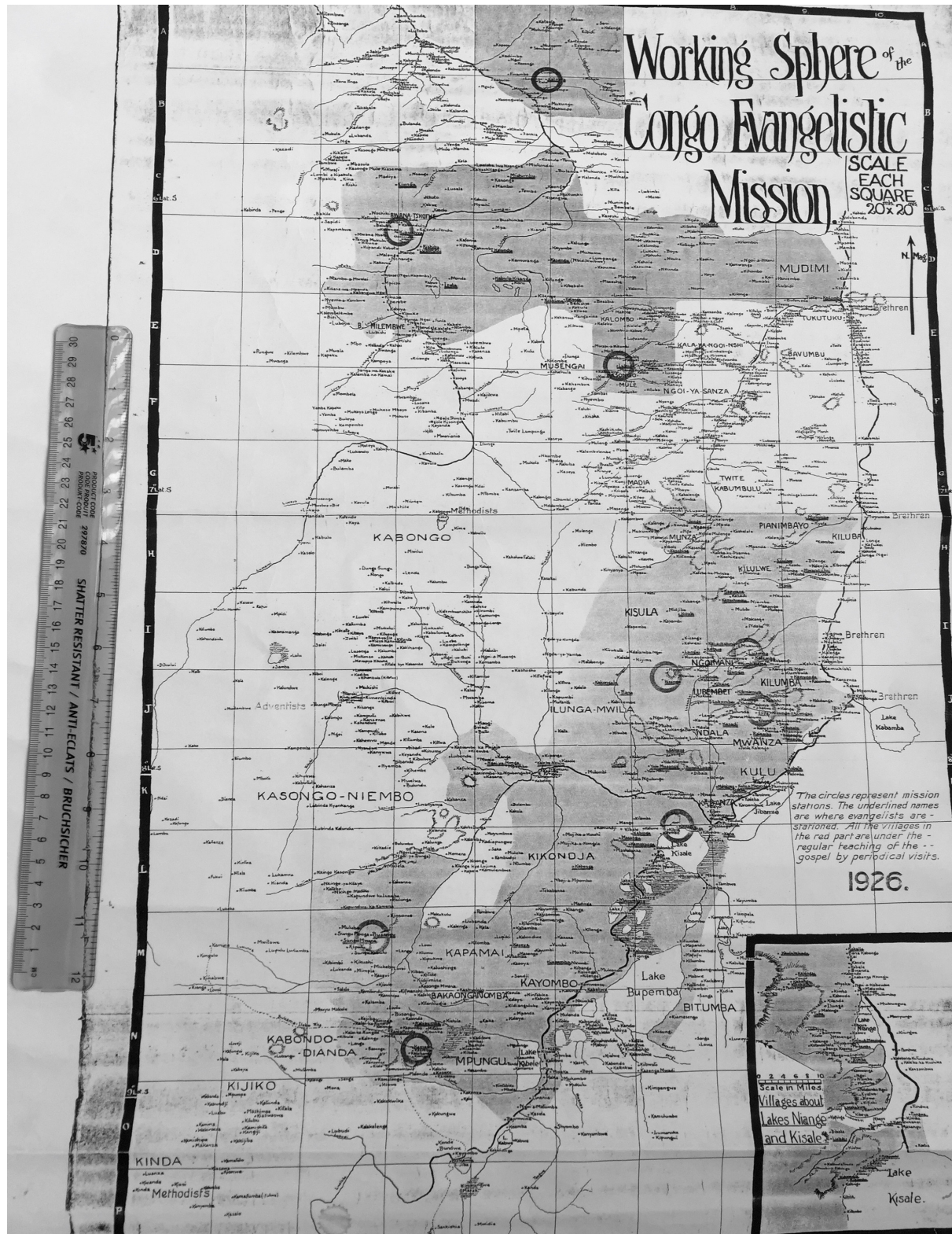
3. We refuse to spend time and funds on our best young men and women, giving them a thorough training, only to send them out to unresponsive blacks. They may be Spurgeons or Whitfields in the home-land. Should they waste their sweetness on the desert air.

Once again we can only reply that our Lord knew all about that when He said "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.["]

But with the above these excuses [.....?] many a believer and many a church is searing his conscience and closing his ears to the cry of the Christless heathen. We wonder how such excuses will avail before the judgement-seat of Christ.

# APPENDIX 6. BURTON'S 1926 MAP OF THE WORKING SPHERE OF THE CEM

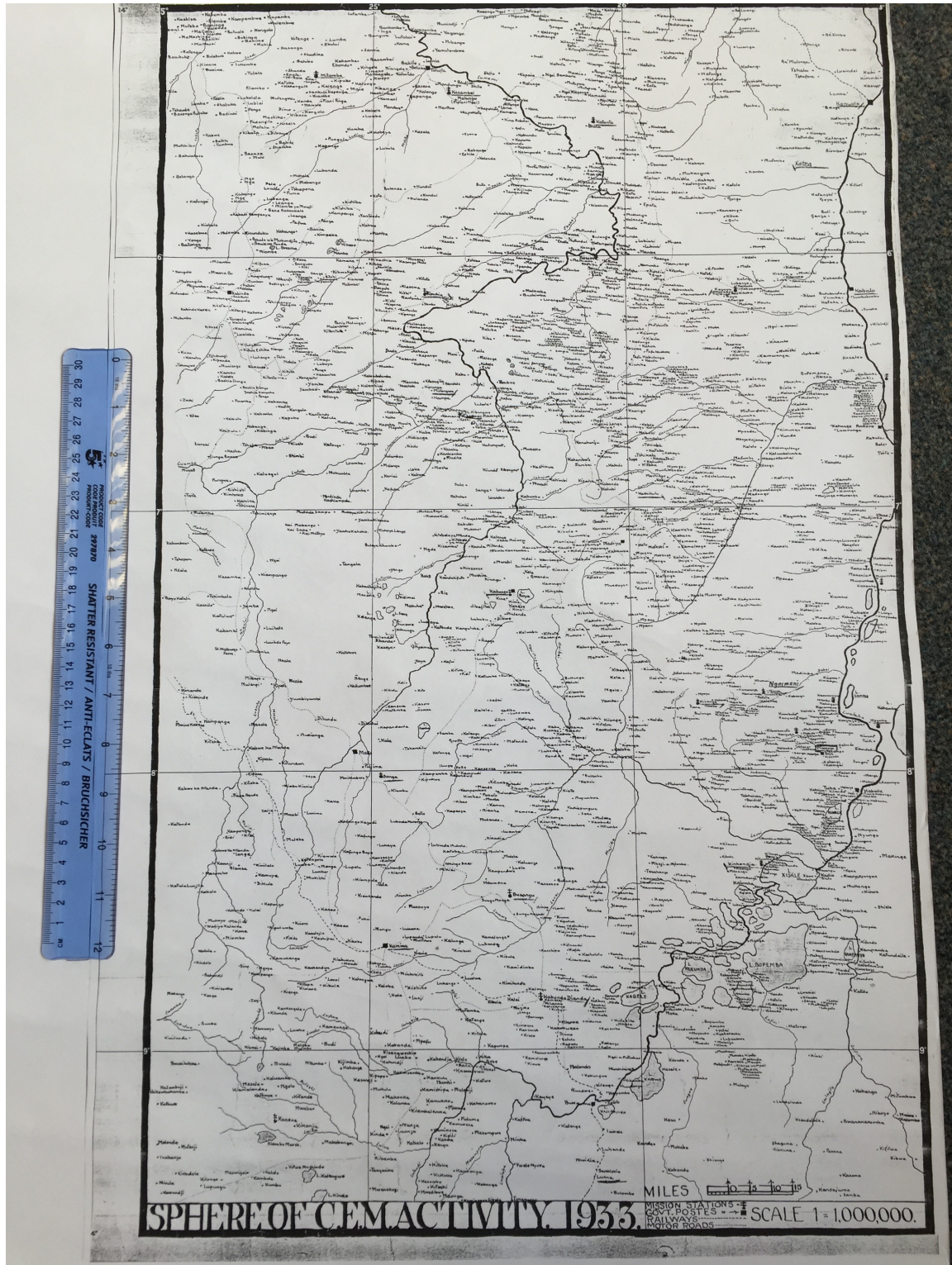
From CAM archives, Preston, UK.





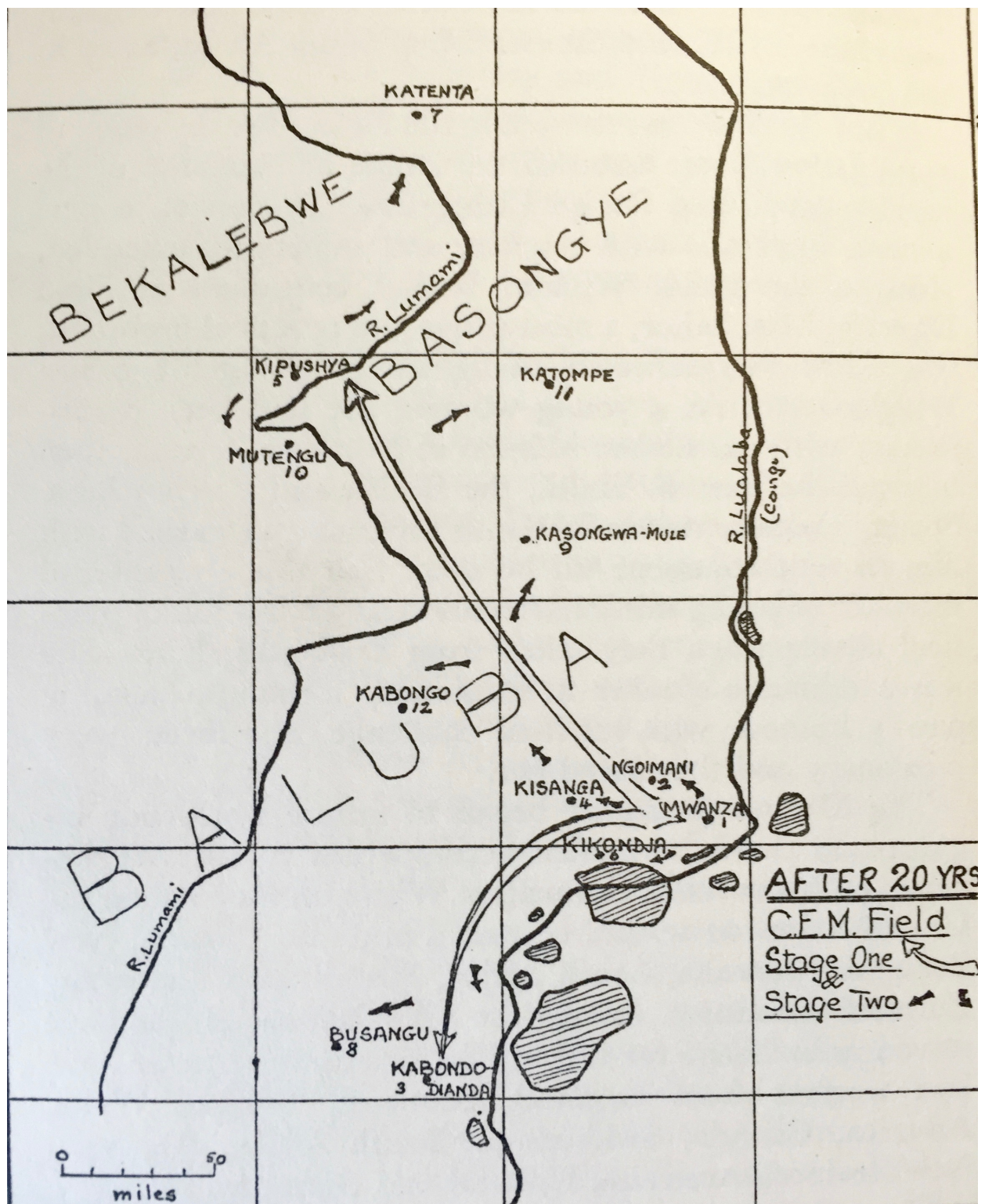
## APPENDIX 7. BURTON'S 1933 MAP OF THE WORKING SPHERE OF THE CEM

From CAM archives, Preston, UK.





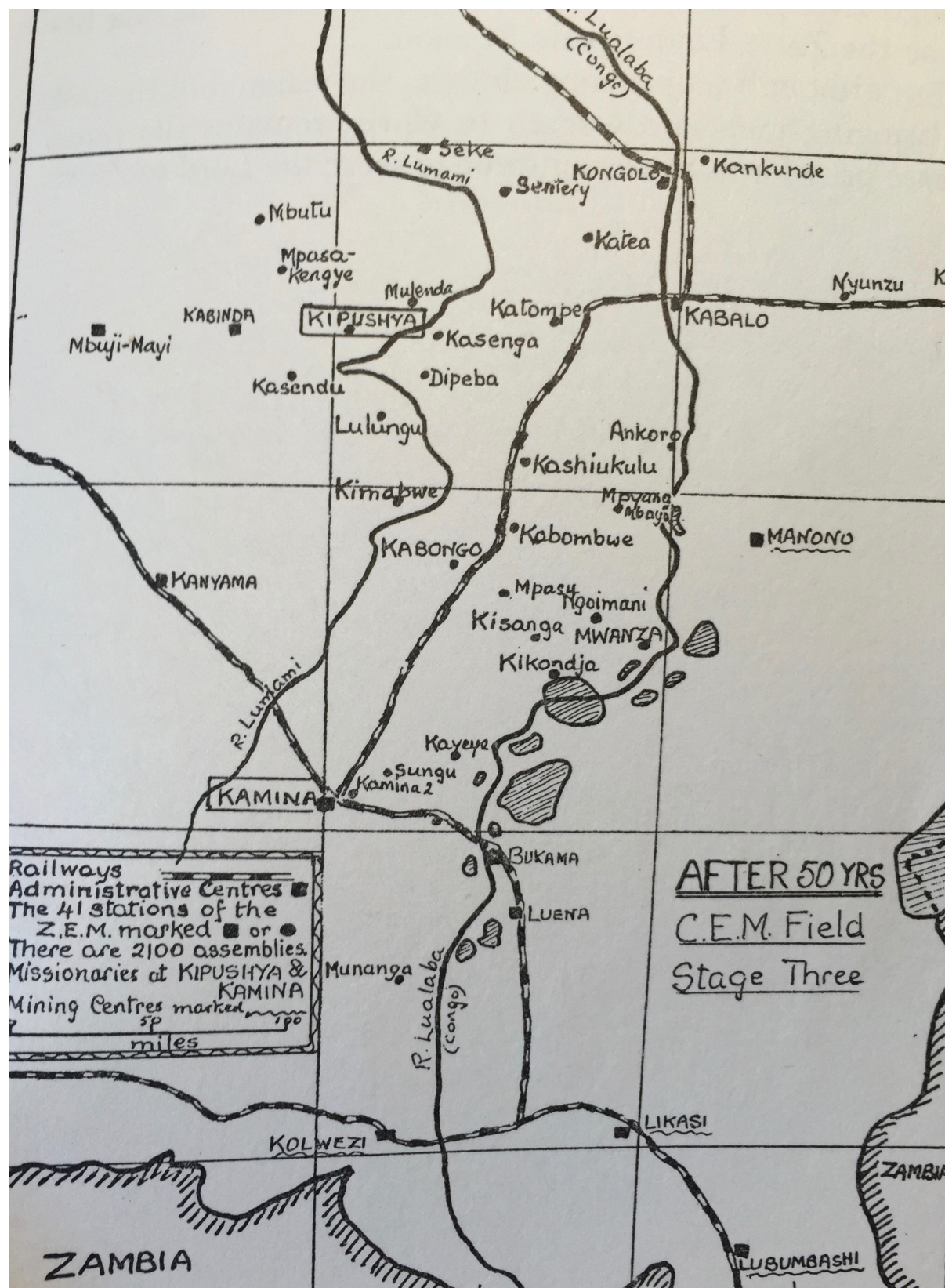
# APPENDIX 8. HAROLD WOMERSLEY'S MAP OF THE CEM FIELD IN 1935



Taken from Womersley, Wm.F.P.Burton: *Congo Pioneer*: 158.



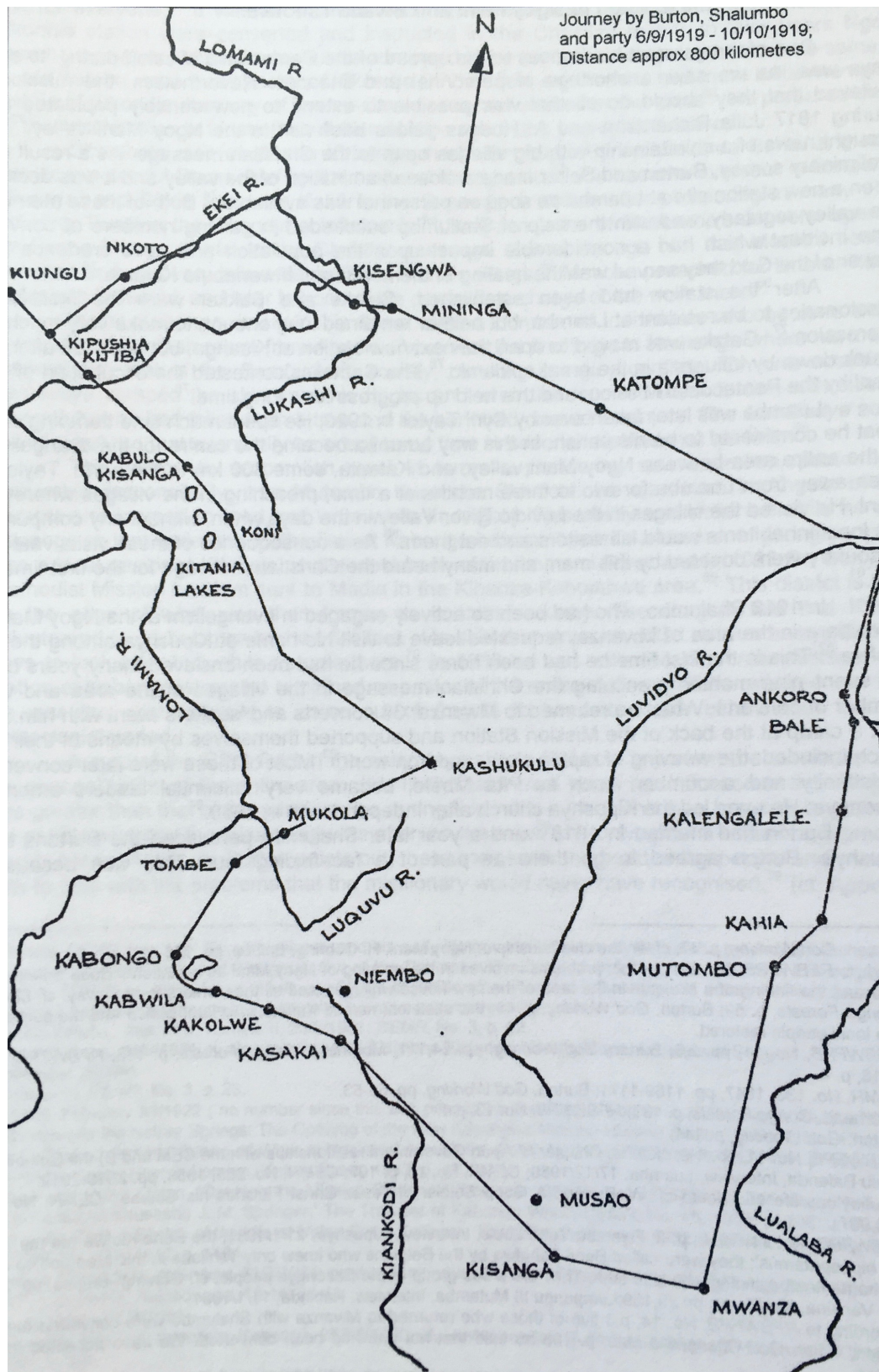
# APPENDIX 9. HAROLD WOMERSLEY'S MAP OF THE CEM FIELD IN 1965



Taken from Womersley, Wm.F.P.Burton: *Congo Pioneer*: 159.



# **APPENDIX 10. MAP OF THE BURTONS' AND SHALUMBO'S RETURN JOURNEY FROM MWANZA TO KIPUSHYA**



Used with permission from Garrard, 'History', 51.

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